

THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW  
OF  
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

· APRIL, 1891.

---

ARTICLE I.

THE THEOLOGY OF ZWINGLI.

By PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D. D., Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

The reader who is familiar with Dr. Bomberger's translation of Kurtz's Church History, will readily recall the following passage (Vol. II, p. 62): "Luther acknowledged no operation of the Spirit, except through the word and the sacraments; Zwingli severed the influence of the Spirit from these instruments, and held that he could operate immediately upon the heart. He regarded the sacraments as only commemorative signs; in the doctrine of the person of Christ, he verged towards Nestorianism, denying that the human nature of Christ participated in the divine predicates. For him justification by the merits of Christ alone, was less of positive than of negative (in opposition to Romish work-righteousness) importance, for, in original sin, he saw only a moral disease, which, of itself, did not constitute sin; and his views of the essence of virtue were so superficial, that he ranked even heathen, like Socrates and Cato, without further qualification in the communion of saints. Along with this his speculations led him to adopt a *fatalistic* predestination, which deprives the will of moral freedom, as over against divine *providence*.—Luther was right in subsequently

saying to Zwingli: 'Ihr habt einen andern Geist, denn wir.'—Cf. *E. Zeller*, das theol. System Zwingli's Tübg. 1853.—*Chr. Sigwart*, Ulr. Zw. Der Char. sr. Theol. mit bes. Rücks. auf Pic. v. Mirandola, Stuttg. 1855. [See, also, *Ebrard's Lehre v. heil. Abendm.*, for a complete reputation of the above, and *Zwingli no Radical* in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1849. p. 263, etc.—*Tr.*]."

It is proposed to show, notwithstanding this caveat of the translator (which can be accounted for only on the supposition that he had never read the works of Zwingli) that Kurtz is right in his statements in regard to the Theology of Zwingli.

1. "Zwingli severed the influence of the Spirit from these instruments (the sacraments), and held that he could operate immediately on the heart."

In the *Ratio Fidei* which Zwingli sent to the Diet of Augsburg (1530), he wrote: "I believe, yea, I know that all the sacraments are so far from conferring grace, that they do not even bring or administer it. In this matter I may appear to thee, Most Potent Caesar, a little too bold. But my opinion is fixed (*sed stat sententia*). For as grace is wrought or given by the divine Spirit, (I speak in Latin, inasmuch as I use the word *grace* in the sense of pardon, namely, indulgence, and gratuitous benefit), so that gift pertains to the Spirit alone. But a channel or vehicle is not necessary to the Spirit, for he is the virtue or influence by which all things are borne, not by which they ought to be borne; neither do we anywhere read in the Holy Scriptures, that sensible things, such as the sacraments are, certainly bring with them the Spirit. \* \* The Spirit is present by his own benignity before the sacraments. Hence also grace is wrought and is present before the sacrament is administered. From this it is concluded that the sacraments are administered as a public testimony of that grace which is already present to the individual. Thus in the presence of the Church baptism is given to him who before he receives it, either confesses the religion of Christ, or has the word of promise by which he knows that he belongs to Christ. \* \* Baptism does not bestow grace, but the Church testifies that grace has been wrought in him to whom it is given. Therefore, O Caesar, I believe that a sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing, that is, of the grace

that has been wrought," (*Works* IV. pp. 9, 10, 11). Again: "No element or external thing in this world can purify the soul, but the purification of the soul is only of the grace of God. So it follows, that baptism cannot wash away any sins. As it can not wash sin away, and yet has been appointed of God, it must be a *sign of dedication* of the people of God, and *nothing at all else*." This passage is quoted by Hagenbach as evidence that Zwingli is the forerunner of the Socinians, and that his "statements on baptism are much behind the later definition of the Reformed church, and are essentially different from those of Luther," (*Hist. Doct.* II. p. 366.)

The well-known Lutheran position on baptism, stated authoritatively in the Augsburg Confession, is "that grace is offered through it." Luther constantly asserts that faith must fix itself on the word, baptism, the sacrament, for through these God conveys what he promises: "We *do* nothing, but only *receive* and *have given* to us what is presented and conferred through the word. In baptism which I have not made and which is not my work, but which is the word and work of God, God says to me: Here I baptize thee and wash thee of all thy sins. Take it: it shall be thine. Now when thou art baptized, what more dost thou than that thou dost receive and accept these gifts of grace?" (*Sermon, Anno 1532*). It need hardly be said that the *receiving* and *accepting* must be by *faith*, for already in 1518 Luther had adopted and emphasized the Augustinian maxim: "Not the sacrament, but faith in the sacrament justifies." As further evidence of the emphasis he places upon the means of grace, we quote the following from the Schmalcald Articles: "And in respect to those points, which concern the oral, external word, we should maintain firmly, that God grants his Spirit or grace to no one unless through or with the external word previously delivered. \* \* We should and must, therefore, constantly maintain that God will not confer with us men, unless through his external word and sacraments. But all that is boasted of, independent of such word and sacraments, in reference to the Spirit, is of the devil." (*Part, III. VIII*).

2. "He regarded the sacraments as only commemorative signs."

Zwingli writes: "In the Eucharist there is nothing but a commemoration. This cup is a symbol, or signifies my blood shed for you. Do we not eat Christ's body spiritually when we believe that he was slain for us? Christ's body is present only to the contemplative of faith." "The Eucharist is our Passover, that is, a commemoration of redemption, a festivity or celebration." "The Eucharist or Communion or Lord's Supper is nothing else than a commemoration, by which those who firmly believe that by the death and blood of Christ they have been reconciled to God, declare this living death." He lays special stress on the words; "Do this in remembrance of me," and delights to call the Lord's Supper *Eucharist*, that is, a giving of thanks, (*Works*, III. p. 257, *et passim*). Even so early as 1523, before he had yet specifically treated the subject of the Lord's Supper, he wrote: "I called the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ a remembrance (widergedächtnuss) of the passion of Christ, before I had even heard the name of Luther," (*Works*, I. p. 257). Zwingli also interpreted the words: "This is my body," by, this signifies my body, this is a symbol of my body. Hence Christ is not present in the sacrament, except to the *contemplation of faith*, that is, he is merely *remembered* as having given his body, and shed his blood for us.

In contrast with this figurative interpretation of the words of institution, and this commemorative conception of the nature of the sacrament, stands the Lutheran literal interpretation of the words, and the doctrine of the true and real presence of the whole Christ in the sacrament. It were superfluous to cite authorities or make quotations in proof. But there is a point of practical difference on which emphasis may be laid. Zwingli did not regard the sacrament as of much practical importance in the matter of salvation, although he declares that it aids and assists faith, (*Works*, IV. p. 57). Ebrard says: "The question, What is the Holy Supper for the subjective faith-life of the *individual* had no interest for him. He had in view only the relation which the Church in its totality has to the death of Christ. Thus it was one-sided," (*Heil. Abend*. II. 155). With Luther the Supper was preëminently the instrument of a life union, which *actualizes* salvation to the believer, and gives him the full benefit



of the *humanity* of Christ, the human love, and sympathy and intercession of Christ, of which Luther felt the need, and of which he made more in the application of redemption than any one had previously done. Hence from the very beginning he laid stress on the words: "My body broken for you;" "My blood shed for you," as the principal things in the sacrament. It was also this view of the direct practical value of the Lord's Supper as a visible sign, and as a means for actualizing redemption, that helped to shape the Lutheran formulæ for the administration of the Sacrament. For instance: The Brandenburg-Nuremberg Order says: "Take and eat. This is the body of Christ given for thee." "Take and drink. This is the blood of the New Testament, shed for thy sins." The Swabian-Hall, composed by Brentz, has the words: "The body of our Lord Christ preserve thee unto eternal life." "The blood of our Lord Christ be a washing away of all thy sins." The Cologne Reformation, composed by Melancthon *et. al.*, says: "Take and eat unto thy salvation the body of Christ, which was given for thee." "Take and drink unto thy salvation the blood of Christ, which was shed for thy sins." In these formulæ not one word is said about *remembering*;\* nor is the chief emphasis to be laid on

\*By no means must it be thought that either Luther or the Lutheran theology, ignores the *commemorative* feature of the Lord's Supper: Luther says: "I hope there is no need to explain at length here what is meant by *Christi Gedächtniss*, Remembrance of Christ, of which I have spoken so much and so often elsewhere, viz., that it is not to reflect on the passion of Christ and to go round with tears for his bitter sufferings, whereby some wish to serve God, as with a good work, and to receive grace. But it is a remembrance of Christ. In this way the power and fruit of his passion is taught and believed. Thus, that our work and service are nothing, that free-will is lost and dead, but that alone through the passion and death of Christ are we released from sin, and do we become godly. It is a teaching and remembering of the grace of God in Christ, and not a work done by us towards God." (*How to Prepare Oneself for the Lord's Supper*, 1530). Also Gerhard: "Christ does not say: Do this in remembrance of my sufferings for you, but in remembrance of me, that is, in grateful and faithful memory of the great love whereby I suffered and died for you, and by which I would also have been ready to have suffered more for you, if my passion and death had not been sufficient price for your sins. (*Harmony of Gospels*, Cap. 171, f. 788). Our souls are not to be in a *passive* state at

*eating and drinking*; nor on *body and blood*; but on *salvation* and the *washing away* of sins, which are actually conveyed to the *believer* who eats and drinks in the sacrament. In a word, the sacrament has specific reference to the faith-life, and to the eternal life of the *individual*.

3. "In the doctrine of the person of Christ, he verged towards Nestorianism, by denying that the human nature of Christ participated in the divine predicates."

Nestorius denied (428-444) that Mary was the mother of God (*θεοτόκος*), and declared that the human nature was the instrument of the divine, the garment which the Logos made use of: that is, he virtually separated the natures, although he "united the reverence."

Zwingli does not go so far in this direction as Nestorius did, for he calls Mary *θεοτόκος*, and again and again declares that the two natures are joined in one person. His tendency is too much to separate the *works* of Christ, and to affirm that this and that belongs to his *human* nature; this and that to his *divine* nature. It is the *nature* that does or suffers this and that, rather than the *person*. The dualism, or at least the tendency to dualism, is marked. The human nature seems not to have received any new and exalted powers by reason of the hypostatic union. Even the glorified body of Christ has only the attributes that our bodies have. For instance: "The body of Christ is so bound to the right hand of God, that it cannot be anywhere else even unto the day of judgment. This is what Augustine means when he says: 'The body which rose must be in one place,' "(Works, III., p. 512).

The right hand of God is a definite locality. Christ according to his human nature definitely and circumscriptively occupies that place. "In his divine nature he is extended through all things, goes, is present, maintains, knows, disposes all things." In Zwingli's Theology the human nature of Christ takes no part in these postulates.

But as it is difficult to do justice to Zwingli's Christology by the communion. Nor are they to be in a *believing* state merely. They are to be in a *remembering* state also. Hence we do well to include in our words of distribution, "Do this as oft as ye do it in remembrance of me."

making statements of our own, we allow him to speak at length for himself: "John 5 : 17. 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work.' Here *I* is spoken of Christ, yet only according to that more exalted nature which equally with the Father works miracles, and does all things. But a little afterwards when he says, 'Verily, verily I say unto you, the Son of Man can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do,' he calls the assumed man son, who, he declares, cannot work miracles. For I do not wish to contend with those, who, perhaps not impiously, but not in place, would say that son here is put for the the divine nature, in the sense that the Son does nothing which the Father does not at the same time do. For we have proofs by which we can show clearer than the sun, that the attributes of the divinity are mentioned, but not attributed to the humanity. You cannot to such an extent expand his natural body. Again: 'He hath given to him to execute judgment, because he is the Son of Man.' Here Son of Man is put for human nature alone, as in a former passage (Son of Man who is in heaven) is put for the divinity alone. For it is *προσαπόδοσις*, why the Son of Man should judge the world, because, namely, he is the Son of Man, that is, has assumed human nature. Again: 'I can do nothing of mine own self'. Here *I* is put for the humanity, for he denies to this the power of working miracles, of which he was then speaking. And dost thou, Luther, attribute to it all things, infinity, government and what not? Nor do I here object to receiving *of mine own self* for alone. Yet I will not contend. What follows will show satisfactorily that it ought to be referred to his human nature. John, 6 : 55. 'My flesh is meat indeed.' In this passage flesh unquestionably stands for the divine nature, since he himself had declared that it is the Spirit which quickeneth, and that the flesh profiteth nothing. Of this I have spoken sufficiently already. And dost thou think he speaks of the carnal sense when there is such a display of beautiful allegory and alloiosis? John, 7 : 16. 'My doctrine is not mine.' Good Jesus, how is the doctrine thine, if it is not thine? But it was thine because thou art God, and all things which the Father has are thine, and on the contrary what thou hast is the Father's. But it was not thine, because thou art man, It is thine

when thou hast reference to thy divine nature, but not thine when thou hast reference to thy human nature. It is in thy possession, not in thy nature, if we look to the man. In this speech thou dost observe the ethology or mimesis of thy enemies, who regarded thee as man only, not also as God. And dost thou attribute to him according to his humanity all things, which he removed from himself? John, 10 : 18. 'I have power to lay down my life and I have power to take it again.' This belongs to his divinity, not to his humanity ; for that said, 'If it be possible, let this cup pass from me.' Again : 'I and my Father are one,' pertains to the divine nature. They were not *unus* but *unum*, for although they were two indeed, yet one thing, and he makes the Father and himself two witnesses, as required by the law. John, 8 : 16. 'If I judge,' says he, 'my judgment is true, because I am not alone, but I and the Father who sent me.' 'And in your law it is written, by the testimony of two witnesses a thing is established.' Therefore I am one who beareth witness of myself. 'But the Father who beareth witness of me, hath sent me.' Thou confoundest all things by attributing to the humanity what belongs to the divinity, as governing, filling all things and the like. John, 10 : 38. 'That ye may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in the Father.' Here *Me* and *I* have reference to the divinity, for according to this he is in the Father from eternity, and the Father in him. John 12 : 23. 'The hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified,' and a little later : 'Father save me from this hour,' that is, from this death. Here are human things that thou mightest understand that he was in need of assistance \* \* 'I will receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also.' Here *I* and *to myself* have reference to the inferior nature, for according to the higher nature he was always with them." (*Works*, III., p. 126-8).

Here we have the famous Alloiosis, of which Luther says : "He calls it an Alloiosis, if something is said concerning the Godhead of Christ, which belongs to his humanity, or *vice versa*, as in Luke, 24 : 26, 'Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?' Here he prates, that Christ is taken for his human nature. Beware, beware, I say of these Alloioses. They are the mark of Satan. For they ulti-

mately form a Christ, according to whom I would not wish to be a Christian, namely, that Christ henceforth can be no more, nor can do more by his suffering and death than a mere saint. For if I believed that the human nature only suffered for me, Christ is to me an insufficient Saviour, who stands in need of a saviour himself." (*Greater Confession*).

With Luther the union of the two natures in Christ is so intimate, the natures are so entirely permeated and directed by the one personality, that whatever belongs to Christ, belongs to him as a *person*, and whatever Christ does, he does as a *person*. Hence Christ the Son of God is born of the Virgin, is crucified, dies, rises again and ascends to heaven. It is the *person* who does and suffers all things that are needful for our redemption. It is the *person* who rules all things and is present in the Church,—a *person* with two *distinct*, but *inseparable* natures.

4. "For him, Justification by the merits of Christ alone, was less of a positive than of a negative (in opposition to Romish righteousness) importance." Zwingli certainly is very distinct and clear in maintaining "that through Christ alone is salvation, blessedness, grace, pardon," and "that Christ is the expiation for the sins of all, and the way of salvation," *Works*, III. p. 198), and that when "we say sins are pardoned through faith, we mean nothing else than that faith alone renders a person certain of the pardon of sins. For if the Pope of Rome were to say six hundred times, thy sins are forgiven thee, yet the mind would never be quiet and sure of the reconciliation of the Deity, unless it could see and believe beyond a doubt, yea, know, that it was absolved and redeemed," (*Works*, IV. p. 60). Yet as Zwingli does not rest salvation *primarily* on faith as its instrumental cause, as justification by faith is not his article of a standing or falling Church, we miss the positive fulness and confidence of statement which characterize the declarations of Luther. In the theology of the latter Justification consists of two things: The pardon of sins, and the imputation of Christ's righteousness. It is the latter feature which seems deficient in Zwingli. The believer in Christ is justified; but his *justitia* is *formal*. It does not so much constitute also the inner *material*

quality of the believer, so that he becomes a righteous person, by reason of the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and by reason of the positive life-union which faith establishes with Christ. Herein mainly was the deficiency of Zwingli: "The principal task of his life was rather to oppose the false and erroneous notions of his age," (*Hagenbach*, II. p. 313). He did not make adequate provision for the deeper needs of the heart, and for the edification of the Christian man. But this deficiency cannot be traced wholly to his destructive attitude towards Rome. It has a deeper seat. Zwingli had not sufficiently grasped the foundation on which Augustine had erected his system of grace and justification, viz., the doctrine of sin.

5. "For in original sin he saw only a moral disease, which of itself, did not constitute sin." In the "Commentary on True and False Religions" (1525), Zwingli expounds the doctrine of sin, and defines it thus: "In the evangelical doctrine sin is understood in a twofold sense. First, as that disease which we derive from the author of our nature, by which we are addicted to a love of ourselves, of which we spoke while considering the subject of man. Paul has reference to this disease when in Rom. 7 : 20, he says: 'Now it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.' Therefore this sin, that is, vice, is a disease known to us, in which we flee that which is severe and difficult, and pursue that which is easy and pleasant. In the second place sin is accepted for that which is contrary to law, as through the law is the knowledge of sin, Rom. 7 : 7. Every act therefore which is contrary to law is sin. Thus we may see how it is that sin is disease, and sin is transgression of the law. Disease does not know that it is disease, and thinks that whatever it does is right. Not thus does God perceive. But when disease draws all things to itself, and thinks all things should serve it and be subject to its desire, he restrains this excess by means of the law; for the law was given on account of transgression. The Searcher of hearts knows that the nature of all is alike, and that Thersites not less than Agamemnon loves himself. But if loose reins should be given to all equally, it would follow that every one would try by his own powers to subdue all things to himself by violence. Hence pillage, robbery, homicides, parricides," (*Works*, III. p.

204). Here sin is treated mainly from the standpoint of the *act*. But little thought is given to the *antecedent* condition of the actor, the *sinful state*, which constitutes the very essence of sin.

Besides, one misses here also the *moral turpitude*, the *guilt* of sin, the quality which brings condemnation and merits punishment. Principally its evil is that it affects us with self-love, and is the cause of evils to our fellow-men, as robbery, murder, etc. It seems scarcely to have a Godward side. It is opposition to law; it is transgression of law; but it is not that abominable thing which God hates. It is evident that Zwingli had never cried out, "My sins! My sins! O my sins!" His aesthetic nature and humanistic culture had led him to look upon sin as something disorderly, inept, deformed, something that stands in the way of the peace of society—not something which corrupts and defiles and pollutes and exposes him in whom it is found to just punishment.

But this defective view of sin is brought out more fully in "The Declaration on Original Sin," written in 1526, in which Zwingli says: "We have said that original contagion is *disease*, not *sin*, because sin is conjoined with fault (*culpa*). But fault arises from something committed or perpetrated by him who has committed a crime. For instance: To be born a slave is a miserable condition. It is not the fault nor crime of him who is thus born. Then if any one should say: But it is the fault of his ancestors that both they and their posterity should be reduced to slavery, therefore the crime was equally a fault which is followed by slavery, or fine, or punishment. Very well. I mean this: Original fault (*culpa*) is not truly, but figuratively called fault on account of the crime of the first parent. But it is nothing else than a condition, miserable indeed, but much lighter than crime would have merited," (*Works*, III. p. 629). This is very shallow as compared with the description of original sin, found, say, in the Augsburg Confession: "This disease (*morbus*) or vice (*vitium*) of origin is truly sin, condemning and bringing now also eternal death upon those who are not born again by baptism and the Holy Ghost. (Compare Luther in Swabach Articles, and in Smalcald Articles). Here it will be seen that it is viewed entirely on its Godward side, and as some-



thing morally culpable and damning, and which can be arrested in its course of condemnation only by a divine operation. With this agrees also the classic definition of sin given by Melancthon: "Sin is a defect, inclination or action, conflicting with the law of God, offensive to God, condemned by God, and making men subject to eternal wrath and eternal punishments, unless forgiveness be made. In this definition the genera are defect and inclination. Action comprehends all internal and external acts," (*Loci*).

A comparison of these Lutheran conceptions with those of Zwingli, shows a clear fundamental difference. Well does Uhlhorn says: "Zwingli lacked Luther's deep consciousness of sin and guilt. To him sin has more of the character of a disease. He looks upon it from an æsthetic point of view, so that it appears to him as that which is ugly, unworthy, and destructive of happiness, rather than as guilt."

6. "His views of the essence of virtue were so superficial that he ranked even heathen, like Seneca, and Cato, without further qualifications, in the communion of saints."

In the year 1551, only a few months before his death, Zwingli addressed "A Brief and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith" to the King of France. In chapter XII., *Vita Aeterna*, he writes as follows: "Therefore you may hope that you will behold the companionship, the assemblage, the dwelling together of the saints, of all the wise, faithful, constant, brave, virtuous, who have existed from the foundation of the world. Here you will behold the two Adams, the redeemed one, and the Redeemer; Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, Phineas, Elias, Elisha, Isaiah and the Virgin Mother of God of whom he sang, David, Hezekiah, Josiah, the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Antigonus, Numa, Camillus the Catos, the Scipios; here the pious Louis, and thy predecessors, the Louises, the Philips, the Pepins, and all thy ancestors who departed in the faith. In a word, there has not been a good man, nor will there be a pious mind and a faithful soul, from the beginning of the world, to the end thereof, whom you will not see there. What spectacle more joyous, glad and honorable can be conceived? Whither do we

more properly direct all the powers of the soul, than to the attainment of such a life. Although the dreamy Catabaptists may justly sleep a sleep in hell, from which they shall never wake." (*Works*, IV. p. 65).

The appearance of Zwingli's collected writings in print in the year 1543, was the occasion of Luther's writing his "Short Confession" (1544). After quoting the above passage from Zwingli, he says: "There it stands in his treatise, which, as it was written near the close of his life, ought to have been his best. Say now, who wishes to be a Christian? What need is there of baptism, the sacrament, the Gospel, the Prophets, the Holy Scriptures, when such ungodly heathen as Socrates, Aristides, yea, the abominable Numa who set up idolatry at Rome, at the instigation of the devil as Augustine writes in *De Civitate Dei*, and Scipio, the epicurean, should be reckoned among the saints with patriarchs, prophets, apostles in heaven, although they knew nothing of God, the Scriptures, the Gospel, Christ, baptism, the sacrament, or the Christian faith? What can such a writer, preacher and teacher believe of the Christian faith other than that it is like every other faith, and that each one can be saved in his own faith, even an idolater and an epicurean, as Numa and Scipio?" (*Erlangen Ed. of Works*, 32, p. 400).

It will thus be seen that at this point the two systems are utterly antithetical. The antithesis may be traced back to two things: Zwingli's low view of sin, and the slight he puts on the means of grace. Luther held that original sin is truly *sin*, and really brings condemnation where it is not arrested by the provision of the Gospel. He did not deny that God *could* save men without faith, but he declared that no one could show that he *would* save them without faith, (*See Letter to Hans von Rechenberg, Erlangen Ed. of Works*, 22: 32, *De Wette*, II., p. 452) which in Luther's theology means *trust in Christ*. (We had intended at this point to trace the views of the Reformers more *in extenso* on the salvability of the heathen and their children, but the limits set to this article forbid. We may make it the subject of a brief monograph in the not distant future).

6. "His speculations led him to adopt a *fatalistic* predestina-

tion, which deprives the will of moral freedom, as over against divine *providence*."

All the leading reformers as disciples of Augustine were at first absolute predestinarians. (See Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. II. p. 252). But at Wittenburg, at Zurich, at Geneva, this absolute predestination took upon itself a different phase according to the life experiences of individuals. Melanchthon's predestination was mainly of a cosmological character. He says: "All things which happen, happen necessarily according to divine predestination." "There is no freedom of our will." "It greatly assists in reproving and condemning the wisdom and prudence of human reason to believe constantly that all things are done by God." "The Scriptures teach that all things take place necessarily." "Through the necessity of predestination the Scripture takes away freedom from our will." "If you regard the human will according to predestination, there is no liberty, either in external or internal works, but all things occur according to the divine appointment." (*Corpus Ref.* XXI. column, 87 *et seq.*) Melanchthon does not deny that the will has some freedom in external matters, as to salute or not to salute a person, to put on or off a garment, and the like. But because God takes no interest in external works, but in the motives of the heart, the Scripture knows nothing of freedom. But Melanchthon makes very little use of predestination in his theological system, and purposely, as he tells us, kept it out of the Confession, as a "tedious and inexplicable subject" which can only "disturb consciences by its inexplicable labyrinths." He declares further that "predestination follows faith and works." Thus it appears that predestination is neither *primary*, nor fundamental with Melanchthon.\*

---

\*"In the whole of the Apology I avoided that tedious and inexplicable subject of predestination. Everywhere I speak as if predestination follows our faith and works. And I do this with distinct purpose: I do not want to disturb consciences with those inexplicable labyrinths. Therefore I state that men are accepted on account of Christ, by faith, that is, are justified. Then comes the fulfilling of the law, which has rewards. But righteousness, that is, acceptance at the same time has eternal life; wherefore faith alone quickens, and gives peace to the heart. These things are plain and easy to be understood." (*Corpus*

Luther's predestination is of a different type, and is more directly theological; but it is mainly connected with the impotence of the will. In his Reply to Erasmus on the freedom of the will, he has brought out his doctrine of the bondage of the will with all the force of personal conviction. But with not a little confusion, as not infrequently he confounds impotence of the will with bondage of the will; or better, his doctrine of the bondage of the will is a doctrine of the bondage of the affections, rather than of the deficiency of the soul's power of choice: that is, the soul is so dominated by self-love and by the love of the world that the will proper cannot choose to love God, cannot elect that which is good in the sight of God, cannot lay hold of salvation by its own unaided power. A fair conception of his general position may be obtained from the beginning of his reply to the following fundamental position of Erasmus: "Moreover, by Freewill here, I mean that power of the human will, whereby a man is able to apply himself to those things which lead to eternal salvation, or to turn himself away from them." After a few words of introduction Luther says: "I have shown above that Freewill belongs to none but God only. You might perhaps with propriety, attribute *will* to man; but to attribute *free* will to him, in *divine* things, is too much; since the term Freewill, in the judgment of all ears, is properly applied to 'that which *can* do, and which *does*' towards God whatsoever it pleases; without being confined by any law, or by any command," (*Erlangen Edition, Latin*, Vol. 7: p. 188-9). On the side of God Luther clearly confesses that God knows nothing contingently, but by his inscrutable, eternal and infallible will, foresees, purposes and does all things. But he turns away from this inscrutable will, as having no interest for us. He makes everything of "the proclaimed God," little or nothing of "the God which is hidden in the majesty of his own nature." He says: "Now our business is to look at his word, and to leave that inscrutable will of his to itself: for we must be directed in

---

*Ref. II. 547*). This letter from Melancthon to Brentz, dated, Sept. 30, 1531, has great historical and theological value. It shows by *whom* it was, and *why* it was that Predestination was kept out of the earlier Lutheran creeds.

our path by that word, and not by that inscrutable will. Nay, who would direct himself by that inscrutable and inaccessible will? It is enough for us barely to know, that there is a certain inscrutable will in God. What that will wills, and how far it so wills, are matters which it is altogether unlawful for us to inquire into, to wish for knowledge about, to trouble ourselves with, or to approach even with our touch. In these matters we have only to adore and fear,

"So then, it is rightly said, 'If God wills not death, we must impute it to our own will that we perish? Rightly, I say, if you speak of the proclaimed God. For he will have all men to be saved, coming, as he does, with his word of salvation to all men; and the fault is in our own will which does not admit him as he says in Matt. 22. 'How often would I have gathered thy children, and thou wouldest not,'" (*Erlangen Edition, Latin, Vol. 7. p. 222*).

Here we have the two secrets, or rather the *origines* of Luther's Theology. Man is impotent. His will is in bondage to carnal affections. He can do nothing to help himself. He cannot believe in God, or even commend himself to God. He is the slave of sin. God pities him and speaks to him in his word. God's word is veracious; it declares God's will "to save all men." Thus Luther's theology begins with man and goes up to God, who manifests himself in the means of grace, which are the bearers of grace. Hence the emphasis which Luther places on the means of grace.

Fundamentally different is the Calvinistic predestination, which starts with the absoluteness and the absolute sovereignty of God, as its primary conception, and deduces everything in analytic method from that primary conception, and places the origin of salvation in God's absolute decree to promote his own glory through the manifestation of mercy to some, and of justice to others, "Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he has determined in himself what he would have become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man therefore being created for one or the other of these ends, we may say he

is predestinated either to life or to death," (*Calvin's Institutes*, III. 21). The system lays the chief stress on the secret God, the God "in himself," of whom Luther cared to know nothing. "Accordingly the sacraments are viewed more as the signs and seals of a covenant, and less as the vehicles of grace," (Dr. H. B. Smith, *Intro. to Chris. Theol.*, p. 65).

Different still is the Zwinglian predestination, which starts with the Providence of God, which Zwingli defines as "a perpetual and immutable government and administration of all things. By government we mean the power, authority and dignity of God," (*Works*, III. p. 84). On this providence of God he bases election, for he says: "They who recognize the Providence of God, must by the same operation recognize election; for if Providence did not appoint in reference to the sum of each thing, there would be no providence of the Deity, because it does not have reference to all things. Election is nothing else than an eternal and present appointment with reference to those who are to enjoy eternal blessedness. So on the contrary, rejection. Jacob was elected before he was conceived in his mother's womb. Thus all the sons of God are elect before the foundation of the world. But they are elect in Christ, that is, as thus elect they come to God through Christ, for no one comes to the Father except through him," (*Works*, III. 512).

Thus salvation is determined by election, which depends on Providence. Hence Zwingli expressly says that faith follows election,—“on account of God's free election, which does not follow faith, but faith follows election,” (IV. p. 7). "Faith is given to those who are elected and ordained to eternal life. Yet in such a way that election precedes and faith follows as the symbol of election," (IV. p. 121). This certainly is "a fatalistic predestination." Salvation is determined by election. Faith is only the "symbol of election." It is not in its fundamental conception the instrument which appropriates salvation offered in the word and sacrament. Hence it is perfectly consistent for Zwingli to say that the Holy Ghost does not need an instrument.

Thus briefly have we given the chief features of the Theology  
VOL. XXI. No. 2.

of Zwingli. The quotations made are characteristic, and might easily have been extended. It is easy to see how fundamentally different the Theology of Zwingli is from the Theology of Luther. The one is in large degree the Theology of Rationalism, as Reformed scholars now freely admit. The other is the Theology of Faith in the word of God. Hence Luther was right when he said: *Ihr habt einen andern Geist denn wir*. That is, your conception of the plan of salvation is fundamentally different from ours. For this reason, as times and circumstances then were, Luther could not regard Zwingli as in the same *Brüderschaft* with himself. But it does not follow hence that our attitude toward the Reformed is to be that of Luther toward Zwingli. Our own sentiment on this subject, and we believe the sentiment of every true Lutheran, is voiced better than we can voice it ourself, by that distinguished Lutheran scholar and divine, Oberconsistorialrath Gerhard Uhlhorn, of Hanover: "Many things have changed during the past three hundred years. To show you this, let me but ask, whether any one of you, even the most decided Lutheran, would venture to say, with Luther, 'The Reformed are of the devil?' or with Westphal, the opponent of Calvin, to call the martyrs of the Reformed Church, of which she has so many, 'martyrs of the devil?' Luther believed that he foresaw that the factious spirit in Zwingli would produce the same fruit as in Munzer and the Anabaptists. We have no difficulty in understanding how he was led to such a conclusion. He had just passed through a severe conflict with the fanatics, and was right in tracing some relationship between them and Zwingli. But we must candidly admit that he deceived himself. The Reformed Church did not end in an Anabaptistic Munster; but stands before us as a Church, richly adorned by God with the gifts of the Spirit, with the life of faith, and with works of love. What follows from this? Necessarily this: that we must look upon and demean ourselves towards the Reformed Church very differently from our fathers, to whom her entire, rich development was not present. If by union you mean this different attitude towards the Reformed Church, so that, without concealing the points in



which, according to our own convictions, she departs from the Word of God, we judge her in the spirit of love and mildness, and recognize the grace bestowed upon her; if you mean, still further, that we are to look upon Reformed Christians as Christian brethren, and to treat them accordingly; and still further, that we are to learn from the Reformed Church, and to suffer ourselves to be stirred up, and to be made more complete by her;—if this is what you mean by union, then I also am a friend of union.

But if by union you mean a fusion of the two churches, so that the Lutheran Church would be united with the Reformed Church without a complete maintenance of its independence in regard to its confession, cultus, and government, I most emphatically say, No! And my very first reason for saying so is, because such a procedure would render the peace between the two churches, which I would love to see, and that mutual recognition and learning from each other, which might prove such a blessing to both, an utter impossibility. Hitherto, in our land, we have lived in peace with the Reformed Church; but every attempt to introduce the union would install war in the place of peace. For then both churches, with the natural instinct of self-preservation, in order to save their endangered peculiarities, would give these a one-sided and unusually sharp prominence, and thus all mutual recognition and learning from each other, would come to an end."—(*Luther and the Swiss*. Translated by G. F. Krotel, D. D., pp. 54-5).

## ARTICLE II.

## THE ABYSSINIANS AND THEIR CHURCH.

By PROF. GEORGE H. SCHODDE, PH. D., Columbus, Ohio.

The stirring events on the Red Sea and on the eastern coast of Africa during the past half decade of years have brought into public prominence once again that remarkable people, the Abyssinians, the modern representatives of the Ethiopians of history. The late change of rulers promises to inaugurate a new departure for that people in their relation to Western Christianity, civilization and culture. The new King Menelik, formerly as sovereign of the Southern district of Shoa a semi-vassal of the late Negus or King John, has adopted a policy differing radically from that of his predecessor. From the very beginning of the occupation of Massowah by the Italians, Menelik maintained friendly relations to them, and in reality gave no support to the efforts of King John to expel them. Scarcely has he been firmly seated on his new throne, when he has sent an embassy to Rome and has entered into a special commercial and political compact with the Quirinal, granting to the Italians even a protectorate over Abyssinia. This step was all the more remarkable, because this was the first formal political delegation ever sent by the Abyssinians to a western people. For centuries various nations of Europe, as also a number of missionary societies, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have in vain attempted to secure an opening for new thought and life in the stereotyped civilization of Abyssinia. The late ruler was particularly hostile to western ideas, and received with favor the proposals of the orthodox church authorities of Russia for a closer connection with that people and Church. Now it seems that the Abyssinians, or rather their ruler, are themselves seeking to cultivate closer relations with the representatives of western civilization.

In many particulars the Abyssinians are a unique people, and in their character and history of peculiar interest for the Chris-

tians of the West. Of all the remnants and remains of the once so powerful Christianity of the oriental nations, they are the only nation that has been able to maintain a national and characteristic individuality. The Armenian, the Syrian, the Coptic and other oriental churches have almost been wiped out of existence by the Moslem conqueror. The few thousands that remain of these ancient strongholds of Christianity in the Turkish and Persian Empire, in India and Egypt, are mere ruins of former greatness and a sad reminder of what was lost to Christianity and civilization by the Mohammedan propaganda of the sword and false doctrine. The Abyssinian is the only one of these national churches that has not practically been crushed by the followers of the false prophet. Against fearful odds the mountaineers of the Switzerland of Africa, as Abyssinia is frequently called, have maintained the struggle of life and death with the fanatical devotees of Islam. The contest against Arabic and Moslem aggression in Africa is not a modern struggle, but one that has been carried on for more than a thousand years by the Christians of Abyssinia. The Moslem could crowd back the nations of Europe at the south-east as far as the gates of Vienna, and in the south-west to the north and east of France, but he could not subdue his nearest neighbor across the Red Sea. The Abyssinians still stand as the only non-barbarian people on the African continent that did not yield to the hordes of Islam.

This singular historical prominence naturally leads to the conclusion that they must be a people of rare talents and gifts, differing not only in degree but in kind also, from the great mass of nations by whom they are surrounded. And such indeed is with right and reason their pre-eminence. In reality they are not an African people at all, but a Semitic race and as such ethnographically related to the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Arabs, the Babylonians and other nations that were positive factors and forces in the earliest history of mankind. Their pedigree is thus of the best, and its genuine character is attested by the best of evidences, such as language, comparative physiology, and the like. Although the descendants of the Ethiopians of fable and history, they are not Ethiopians at all in the generally accepted sense of the word; *i. e.* they are neither black nor of the negro race.

They are, although of a "coffee colored" complexion, Caucasians as pure as any nation of Europe or western Asia. Indeed of all the nations of Africa they are the only one, with the exception of the Egyptians, who should *not* be called Ethiopians or blacks. In the older sense of the word, Ethiopia was rather a geographical than an ethnographical term, referring to the inhabitants of Africa. Of these only the Egyptians, whose name was fixed in history, and the Abyssinians were known to early Greece; and applied to them, the name had not the side meaning which it acquired in modern languages, when it was learned that the great majority of Africans were of the negro race and black. In the old sense the Ethiopians still apply the name to themselves, although their favorite appellation is "Geez," *i. e.* wanderers or freedmen, corresponding to the "Franks" of western Europe. As a rule they reject with scorn the name Abyssinia, which signifies a mixture of races, and has been given them as a term of reproach by the Arabs.

The Abyssinians are the only member of the Semitic family which as a nation adopted Christianity. It will ever remain one of the strongest phenomena of history, that Christianity sprang from Semitic soil and at least, in a formal sense, was thoroughly under the spell of the Semitic mind and genius, yet it has found its adherents chiefly among the Aryan people. The inheritance of Shem passed into the tent of Japhet:

The history of Abyssinia is entirely a religious one. Before the advent of Christian missionaries in the fourth century, little or nothing is known of the land or the people. Its Christianity came from Greece. In this way the Abyssinians have the singular fate of being a Semitic people whose mental and moral development was directed almost entirely by forces Aryan in origin, thus inverting the common order of history. Although by instinct and inclination tending toward a national and religious life closely akin to the nomadic Arabs or the more settled Hebrews and Babylonians, many of the leading features of Abyssinian character were engrafted from Greek thought, or rather Greek Christendom. The making of the Abyssinian nation is entirely the work of Greek Christianity. It was not Greek culture, or philosophy, or civilization in themselves that in the

fourth century brought the Ethiopia of antiquity upon the stage of history. It was Greek Christianity that did this and that brought as its concomitants and hand-maidens whatever of culture or civilization entered into the make-up of Abyssinian character and history. Although geographically nearest to Egypt, that classic country has never had an influence for good on its southern neighbor. Of the venerable civilization of the land of the Pharaohs, with its pyramids, temples, and cities, there is no sign to be found in the whole country of Ethiopia. Indeed the antagonism between the Abyssinia and the Egypt of the present day is but a continuation of the feuds of tens of centuries. The subordination of the Abyssinian church to the church of the Copts is owing merely to the fact that the latter represents the monophysitic sect of the old Greek church. But the civilization of Ethiopia is the work of the fourth and fifth century Christianity, and this fact has determined the whole historical development of the people. Abyssinian history is really in sum and substance a chapter in oriental church history, and a very interesting chapter at that. Divorced from religion Abyssinia has never known any civilization or literature. Certain national peculiarities, such as the observance of the seventh day as well as the first, the practice of circumcision as well as baptism, the existence of a singular class of Black Jews called Falashās evidently a branch of the Ethiopic people, the long fasts, and the adherence to the laws of meats as found in the Old Testament, would seem to point to a Jewish period before the Christian period in Abyssinia. But in addition to the stout denials, of native writers, there are no positive evidences as to such a period. The peculiarities in question they themselves explain as being not religious, but rather national characteristics, observed in common with other Semitic peoples.

The precise period of the Christianization of Abyssinia has also exerted a decisive influence on them and their history. It was in the first and second centuries after Christianity had become the religion of the empire, the age of controversies on theological and Christological points. It was not yet the period when a highly developed culture and civilization went hand in hand with the new religion, when grand basilicæ and churches

were built, and when literature, the sciences and the arts had fully readjusted themselves to the new state of affairs and had thrown off their allegiance to the Greek and Latin ideals and had become imbued with the new spirit that had gained the ascendancy in the hearts of men. Before that formative era of controversy was over, Abyssinia had again severed its connection with the Greek church and the Greek world of thought. The Synod of Chalcedon in 451 condemned the Monophysitic doctrines of the Egyptian churches and with this act the Christians of that country and of Abyssinia withdrew from the Church at large. About three centuries later, Mohammedanism conquered Egypt and thus separated the Abyssinian people entirely from all contact with those nations with which they alone could have any spiritual union. The isolation of choice became an isolation of necessity.

The recognition of these factors enables us to understand Abyssinian history and the Abyssinians of to-day. Their isolation at this particular period influenced to a great extent their national development. The conservatism, naturally so deeply implanted in the Semitic peoples, proved a most effective agency in preserving the status of the people as it existed at the time of the separation, and was a powerful factor in the process of spiritual petrification. In the Abyssinians of to-day we practically have a petrified Greek Christianity of the fourth and fifth centuries. The outward forms, liturgies, dogmas and ceremonies, have been handed down from century to century, uninfluenced by the developments that were going on in the civilized world and in the church at large. The spiritual element in the church is gone; it is now mere formalism, and this is the reason of the strange mixture of barbarism and loud professions of faith that exist there side by side. The gifted king Theodorus was perfectly willing to discuss by the hour the five points in regard to the doctrine of the two natures of Christ and on the same day to order the hands and feet of hundreds of political opponents to be cut off, without seeing any inconsistency between his professions and his practices. At the time of separation, the leaven of Christianity had not yet been able to penetrate and permeate the native Semitic character of the people, and in this unfinished

state Abyssinian Christianity and culture have continued ever since. The most brutal of oriental despotisms, such as is characteristic of the untamed Semitic heart, and which is yet seen in the treacherous Arabic Bedouin, is found closely allied with a fervency of prayer, fasts and religious observances of all kinds, that would be too enigmatical to be understood were it not known, that centuries and centuries of isolation and stagnation had not permitted the germs of Christianity to develop into a regenerative power. In many of the ruder virtues, especially those naturally conspicuous in the Semitic peoples, the Abyssinians excel. But those higher qualities of mind and soul which spring from the new life of the Gospel and the possession and appreciation of mental and spiritual gifts are absent. Although a member of the family of nations that belong to the kings among the peoples of the earth and that have been most active forces in moulding the history of mankind, the peculiar historical surroundings of the Abyssinians have been such as to deprive them of their inheritance in this history to which their talents and natural endowments entitle them.

But as there is no ill wind that blows no good, the isolation of the Abyssinians has also been the source of much good to the Christian Church and Christian literature. This people has had the honor of preserving for Christian scholarship a large amount of good literature that would otherwise have been lost to research and science. In the terrible ups and downs of the wars in both Western and Eastern Christianity, many noble literary monuments of the Church were lost. Much of this has been preserved in the seclusion of Abyssinia. In the flourishing period of Ethiopic history, beginning with the fourth century and extending with some interruptions through more than one thousand years, the Abyssinians have displayed a remarkable literary activity. It cannot be said that they evinced much originality; for even that portion of their literature which is not translations, is modeled after Greek, Arabic, and Coptic precedents. There is no national Ethiopic literature with clearly marked individuality, such as we find in the literatures of other nations. But what they lacked in originality, they made up in



diligence. Quantitatively Ethiopic literature is of vast extent, and qualitatively it is important, not only because the works themselves have merit, but because the Greek originals have in the majority of cases been lost. The rediscovery of one of the best translations of the Septuagint, of the Book of Enoch, the only one of the vast number of Jewish pseudepigrapha in the inter-Testament period expressly quoted in the New Testament; the Book of Inbeleer; a large number of patristic works of good value; and of other rare literary remains, stamps the literature of Abyssinia as one that consists not of mere curiosities, but which has substantial value in more than one department. Within the last quarter of a century a number of these works have been edited by European scholars, particularly by Platt, of England, and Dillmann, of Germany. The latter has also prepared a grammar and a dictionary of the language as complete and as scientific as it is possible for the comparative philological methods of modern scholarship to write. But hundreds of Ethiopic manuscripts still lie unedited in European libraries, in London, Rome, Frankfort a. M., Paris, Dresden, Oxford, Cambridge, Berlin.

Unfortunately the Abyssinians can make but little use of this literature themselves. For them it is practically a dead letter. They do not even understand the classical Ethiopic, and use it only as a *lingua sacra* in their worship, without understanding its meaning. The Amharic and Tigre dialects are now spoken and in these the literature is but meagre and of little value.

And yet they are fully aware of their noble ancestry and pedigree, even claiming that their royal house is descendant from King Solomon. In common with nearly all oriental peoples, they claim the Queen of Sheba for themselves, and insist that she went to Jerusalem with matrimonial intentions. The old chroniclers report that she there bore Solomon a son whom she left at Jerusalem to be educated by his father. When a young man, this son, named Menelik, fled from Jerusalem, taking with him the ark of the covenant and a number of priests. The ark he set up in a church of Ethiopia; and ever since that day, the ark or the *tabot*, is the most sacred portion of an Abyssinian house of prayer. Indeed it is only the presence of a consecrated *tabot*

that makes it a church at all. Without it, it is no house of worship; with it, any hovel is a sanctuary.

It must be said that much in the Abyssinian character and customs is peculiarly interesting. In many respects they have been asleep for centuries and centuries. In Abyssinia there are traits of life and conduct that are as primitive and patriarchal as any found in the holy land. The Abyssinian peasant is the counterpart of the Jewish peasant in many respects of the days of Deborah and Barak. Their relations to their rulers and their country, the affairs of war, and their exercises in its practice, recall the days of the Judges. Theodorus was accustomed to go into war accompanied by the religious ark, borne by priests and deacons. He was accompanied also by all his warriors and a great crowd of ecclesiastics. He took with him four tame lions, as did in ancient times Rameses of Egypt and Sennacherib of Assyria.

Abyssinia was, so to say, rediscovered in the sixteenth century; but only through the travels of Bruce in 1769, and others later, did it awaken a general interest in Europe. Practically the influence of the western peoples has not been remarkable for good results so far, the fault of which lies on both sides. Missionary efforts, of both Protestant and Catholic societies, have no conquests of great importance to record. Whether the contact with western Christianity and civilization, that Abyssinia formerly scorned but is now apparently seeking herself, will have better results, it would take a prophet and a prophet's son to foretell. Only time can tell, but the developments are well worthy of attention and study.

## ARTICLE III.

## THE FINAL PHILOSOPHY\*.

By REV. SAMUEL SCHWARM, PH. D., Tiffin, Ohio.

Many and various definitions have been given of the word, Philosophy. It would be difficult to find another word of such prime importance that has been, and is being, used with so many different significations and applied to so widely separated spheres. Almost every branch of knowledge has at sometime been, and is even now being, called Philosophy. It has been made to include all that is possible and real "in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, in the waters under the earth," and also in imagination. So very varied and different has been the use of the word that, in the minds of many, it has no definite meaning nor special sphere. Some would confine it to the natural sciences, some to the mental sciences, some to both these spheres, and some would include in philosophy not merely these but also mathematics, astronomy and almost every branch of knowledge, while others would use the word as being synonymous with the word science.

Therefore, before we can properly discuss "the Final Philosophy" either as a probability, possibility, or actuality, or in any other way, we must first determine what philosophy is and fix its special and peculiar sphere, if this be at all possible. This is possible by a thorough study of the word in its etymological and historical usages. The word wise (*σοφος*) was used by the Greeks early in their history to designate any one who had distinguished himself from the general mass of mankind by any kind of art or skill. This peculiar skill or wisdom was designated by them

\*To the individual systems of philosophy which I have examined, and the various histories of philosophy, too numerous to name, and especially to Dr. Stuckenberg's "Introduction to the Study of Philosophy," to Prof. Shield's "Final Philosophy," and to Dr. Sam'l Sprecher's "Ground-work of Theology" and a personal letter, I acknowledge my indebtedness for the thoughts of this article.

by the word wisdom (*σοφία*). And one who was especially distinguished for wisdom was termed a sophist (*σοφιστής*). Thus the seven wise men of Greece were called sophists (*σοφισταί*) because they surpassed all the rest of the Grecian world in wisdom. But Pythagoras, it is supposed, prefixed the word friend, or lover, (*φίλος*) to the word wise; for he said, "No man, but God only, is wise." "Wisdom," he said, "belongs only to God while it belongs to man rather to be a lover of wisdom." This sentiment also accords with the spirit and saying of Socrates, and, also, of Plato. But Pythagoras is probably its author. He was also the first to use the word philosophy (*φιλοσοφία*) to designate a particular subject, rather than the spirit of the one pursuing wisdom. But for a long time, even among the Greeks, the word was used, as it is now, in various senses. Thus Herodotus uses it to designate a desire for learning, and Thucydides employs it in the sense of striving after intellectual culture. Thus sophists and rhetoricians are called philosophers, and the contents of their instructions are called philosophy. The meaning of the word was not definitely fixed, either, in the Socratic School. But we find, that although Plato and Aristotle used the word in a general sense, that they also used it in a technical sense. Thus Plato speaks of philosophy being a setting of the affections on that which in each case really exists, or the essence of things, and the apprehension of the eternal and immutable. But he also uses the word in such a way as to embrace all the positive sciences. Aristotle uses it also to include science in general, and makes it embrace mathematics, and physics, ethics and poetics. But he also speaks of it as being the "First Philosophy," namely, the science of being, which considers the ultimate grounds or principles of everything that exists, especially, the matter, the form, the efficient cause, and end of everything.

The Stoics defined wisdom (*σοφία*) as the science of things divine and human, but philosophy (*φιλοσοφία*) as the striving after virtue in the three departments of physics, ethics and logic. Thus they also used the word rather in a general sense. Thus also Epicurus, who defined philosophy to be the rational pursuit of happiness. In its scholastic sense, philosophy was said by Kant to have been the system of all the branches of philos-

ophical knowledge; but in its cosmical signification, the science of the relation of all knowledge to the essential ends of human reason. Kant also defined philosophy as, rational knowledge by means of concepts. He regarded the following as its primary problems: What can I know? What ought I to do? What dare I hope? What is man? Herbert defined philosophy to be the elaboration of conceptions. According to Hegel, whose doctrine Fichte, in respect to form, and Schelling, in respect to matter, prepared the way, philosophy is the science of the absolute in the form of dialectical development, or the science of the self-comprehending reason, or of reason comprehending itself. According to Schwegler philosophy is reflection, the examination of things in thought. While Trendelenberg regards philosophy as aiming at the idea of the total and universal, which lies at the basis of the parts and of all that is particular, in distinction from the empirical sciences, which contemplate the individual as separated from the totality. Lotze thought it the aim of philosophy to bring into unity and connection the scattered thoughts, to follow them to their first presuppositions, and also to their last consequences, and thus to secure a consistent idea of the universe. Joseph Beck regarded it as aiming at the rational knowledge of the truth of the facts of human consciousness; or the science of the nature, the last principles, and the highest ends of things. Ueberweg says, philosophy is the science of principles.

Different and extremely varied have been, and are the uses and definitions of philosophy, but is there not nevertheless, in spite of this fact, something common and fundamental at the bottom of them all? What is it that the many philosophers and schools of philosophers, from the days of Thales on down to the present, have been seeking? Have they not been after the real *nature and cause of things*, the *final explanation of things*?

This is what the *Greek* schools were after. Some of them found this final explanation, or cause, of things in fire; some found it in water; some in air; some in earth; some in all these combined; others in numbers; others in atoms; others in pure being; others in mind; others in the *search* for the eternal rea-

son of things and of virtue; others in "ideas;" and still others in "First Philosophy." But in *all* the end sought was the same, viz., the ultimate principles of things. From Aristotle to Descartes, though the term philosophy was used in many different senses, and was made at times to include Phariseism, and Essenism as well as Christianity, etc., yet the controversies between the Nominalists and Realists, the speculation of the schoolmen concerning God and the universe, indicate that *they*, too, were after the final explanation of being, the first principles. So in modern times the innate ideas of Descartes, the theory of knowledge by Locke, the monads of Leibnitz and his theory of harmony, the substance of Spinoza, the skepticism of Hume respecting final problems, the Kritik of Kant, the Ego of Fichte, the subject-object of Schelling, the panlogism of Hegel, the common sense of Ried, the positivism of Comte, the blind will force of Schopenhauer, the unconscious of Hartmann, the unknowable of Spencer, the conflict between Idealism and Realism, all furnish indisputable proof that the central idea of philosophy in modern times, as well as in ancient and middle, is ultimate principles, the final explanation of things.

The most general characteristic of philosophy, therefore, in all ages has been the search for the ultimate principles by the reason. Thus we have as the peculiar sphere or domain of philosophy, from its origin until now, the search for the ultimate principles of things, the endeavor to solve the "Final Problems." In this search philosophy has developed and used some of the sciences, such as grammar, rhetoric, logic and the natural sciences, etc., but they do not on that account necessarily belong to philosophy, as some have supposed, nor does philosophy, necessarily, embrace their special fields in its sphere. They have been, and are, the servants of philosophy but not an integral part of it. It has its own special domain, a domain not occupied by any other science, nor can it be. Philosophy, says Ueberweg, differs from other sciences in that it is not occupied like them in any limited or specific field, but with the natural laws and connections of whatever is. But it is this very thing which gives it its specific, though unlimited field. The mind is not satisfied with phenomena merely. Impelled by curiosity and

skepticism, it seeks to discover the reason, the underlying thought, the eternal principle, or principles, that makes the phenomena possible and explains them. Other sciences may treat of the phenomena of the mind as they appear in it, but they cannot explain how the mind knows, what the real nature of the things back of the phenomena is, nor whence the power to form concepts. So after eliminating the natural or positive sciences there still remains a special sphere for philosophy, viz., the solution of the fundamental and ultimate problems. And these have truly in all ages, as we have seen, been its sphere, though the nature of these problems have been at various times differently apprehended. Much else has been discussed in the name of philosophy; but that was merely incidental or because it was necessary to prepare the way. These things can be assigned to other sciences or dropped without serious loss. But these problems which pertain to the last things cannot be dropped without the destruction of philosophy itself. They are the very essence of philosophy, as we have seen from the historical use of the word. These problems form the hub of all philosophical speculation. Philosophy wants to discover the last thoughts respecting *what is, whence it is, why it is*; or seeks to learn the essence, the origin, and the purpose of *being*. It is after the idea of that which is. It wants to go back of phenomena and discover the reason which manifests itself in the universe. It desires the underlying truth which must be the explanation of all problems. Philosophy is, consequently, the highest possible demand of the human mind and marks the utmost limits of intellectual aspiration.

Philosophy, limiting it to this described sphere and aim, has been defined by Stuckenbergs as, "The rational system of fundamental principles." Its sphere is the fundamental principles, or the discovery of whatever is required to explain being, or the last ultimate principles required to satisfy the mind in its inquiries as to entity. But these principles when found, if more than one, must be put into their proper relations, they must be systematized, so must also the inference drawn from them. Philosophy must be orderly in the arrangement of facts. And these



fundamental facts or principles must be rational, *i. e.*, in accord with reason, not contradictory.

Following this definition, which perhaps is as comprehensive as any that can be given, we have an idea of what *The Final Philosophy* must be. It must give us the fundamental principles upon which the whole superstructure of our knowledge rests. It must solve the ultimate problems of being. It dare not leave any inquiry unanswered, for the mind cannot receive any philosophy as *Final* that fails to account for a single principle. It would abandon such a philosophy and go in search of the missing principle. The Final Philosophy will have all the fundamental principles. It must also solve these principles rationally, or in harmony with reason. Reason may be transcended, but dare not be contradicted; for reason is the only criterion for philosophical truth. It must also arrange its facts in a systematic order. It must show what class of phenomena can be accounted for by this principle, what by that, and so on. It must not leave the interpretation and arrangement of its facts to ignorance or chance. It must complete the beautiful temple of knowledge. The Final Philosophy, therefore, will be the complete, the perfect, the ideal.

We have now found what philosophy is, and what the Final Philosophy must be. Has this already been attained? Do any, of the many philosophical systems that have been reared, meet these requirements? All the philosophical systems up to the present may be said to have one or the other of two tendencies. Hence they have all been divided, by some, into two great classes. These classes are designated as Idealism and Realism, Absolutism and Positivism, Transcendentalism and Empiricism. Trendelenburg has divided them into three classes, viz., Idealism, Positivism and Pantheism. But Pantheism is not a distinct class, for both Idealism and Positivism run into Pantheism. So Idealism and Materialism are a better designation of the tendencies of philosophical thought. It would, of course, be difficult to force all of the different systems of philosophy into either of these classes, and yet on the whole they all lean toward the one or the other. We see these two tendencies al-

ready in the early Greek philosophy. The Ionics thought to account for every thing by the material principle, or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say they overlooked the ideal entirely. With them the fundamental principles of being were found in the material elements, fire, air, water, earth, or their combination. The Pythagoreans were not satisfied with this solution of being, so they sought for the fundamental principle for the solution of the problem of being in numbers, or in the one and the many, the odd and the even; the dimensions and proportions of matter, rather than in its sensible concretions. This seemed to them to be the essence of all things. But the Eleatics were not satisfied with this symbolic principle, they believed there was something behind matter and numbers, hence they abstracted every thing given in experience and declared *pure being* still remained. This they posited as the principle for the solution of all things. They thus recognized an intelligent principle rather than a sensuous or symbolic one. But the intelligence they recognized was that of a machine rather than free. Anaxagoras, consequently, went a step farther and placed a world-forming principle by the side of matter. Thus philosophy gained the ideal principle. Around the one or the other of these principles the philosophic thought of the world has arranged itself. Plato laid hold of the ideal and developed that at the expense of the real. With him the idea was the more real, or the ideal horse was more real than the actual one. Aristotle leaned towards the real or material side and ridiculed the Platonic "ideas." In the middle ages we see the two tendencies in the war between the Nominalist and Realist, Anselm and Abelard. In modern times we not merely see the two tendencies, but we see them developed to their utmost extremes. On the one side Descartes, Kant, Leibnitz, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Cousin, etc. On the other Bacon, Hobbes, Hume, Mills, Spencer, Comte, etc.

On the one extreme, of its modern development, we have an Absolutism which would merely evaporate philosophy into a fanciful omniscience. It needs no objective or absolute infinite being as the source of all things, but the mind has been made omnipotent and ominiscient and can spin a universe out of its own inherent nature. On the other extreme we have a Posi-

tivism which would simply extinguish philosophy in sheer nescience. In this region every thing is materialized, even the mind itself is but highly organized matter. Every thing that cannot be handled and analyzed is dismissed with the assertion, if there is any thing more than this matter we cannot know it, it is unknowable.

"On the one side the extreme absolutist becomes at length a mystic in science as well as in religion. Having transcended all positive phenomena, or absorbed them in the process of his reason, he claims that to be fully comprehensible which he has proved to be conceivable. He believes he can know whatever he can think. Both the world, therefore, and God are lost in himself; and the universe becomes to him but as a gilded bauble on the stream of nature. And not dizzied at this height of Pantheism, he even dreams of a kind of intuitive omniscience, by which both experience and revelation are to be superceded, facts resolved into ideas, creation reduced to logic, and the whole dissolving universe reviewed from its genesis to its apocalypse."

"On the other side, the extreme Positivist becomes at length a skeptic in religion as well as science. Having ignored the Absolute, or resolved it into contradictions, he cannot long retain as credible that which he has proved to be incognizable and inconceivable; he cannot believe in that which he can neither think nor know. He is therefore left without God in the world. And the universe remains to him but as a mausoleum of dry facts, life is but a struggle against death, and nature is but the splendid tomb of man. Or if he recoils from this gulf of Atheism, it is only to frame for himself, out of the remaining social phenomena with which he has to deal, a kind of scientific religion, with humanity for his God, savants for priests, industry for his worship, fame for his immortality, and a civilized earth as his heaven."

"The Absolutist, trusting solely to his reason, would penetrate behind or beyond phenomena in search of their essence or cause, and endeavor by mere logical process from assumed principles to revise and reconstruct the existing universe; while the positivist, trusting solely to his senses, would abandon realities for their appearances or phenomena, and endeavor by mere empirical

process, from admitted facts, to investigate and modify the existing universe. And while the former would erect the sciences into a system of philosophic omniscience, and so abruptly consummate the task of philosophy; the other would as abruptly leave it incomplete, by erecting them into a system of philosophic nescience." Thus the eloquent pen of Prof. Shields, has set forth the characteristic development and final outcome of these two leading tendencies in philosophy.

It is not difficult to see that neither of these tendencies can produce the Final Philosophy, for this philosophy will not neglect or ignore any field of investigation. It will search for the truth, for its ultimate principles, in every sphere. And it will accept truth as truth wherever found, whether in the ideal or material region. But in these tendencies of philosophic thought we find that the one excludes the other. Thus in Absolutism we find a tendency to ignore the material universe, a reality to our senses, or to relegate it to the land of mere representatives and images manufactured by the brain. In it a very large field for investigation, a field that has occupied many of the best minds, and which has furnished many important truths for humanity is abandoned, and the ideal alone is fully developed, and that too to the utmost extreme. On the other hand in Positivism we find that the mental, the rational, the spiritual, are entirely ignored; and the actual, the material, the real fact, is run to the utmost. In both these tendencies the mind has erected systems that are simply grand and amazing. But in spite of all that, they are not satisfactory to the unprejudiced mind, for they ignore some of the great facts in consciousness instead of trying to account for them rationally. Hence they have been largely rejected as philosophical systems and candid minds are looking about for something better, something more comprehensive and less exclusive.

None of the extant philosophical systems therefore, it is being admitted, can be the Final Philosophy; for, on the one side, they fail to account for the ideal, the spiritual, the absolute; and on the other, they fail to account for the material, the real, as presented by our senses, or at least fail to account for them rationally. The Final Philosophy we have seen, must account for

all the fundamental principles underlying all being, ideal and material, and it must do this in a way that reason will sanction. It cannot do this by ignoring either the material or the ideal, or by saying the secret of their existence cannot be known, or by deifying a finite mind and giving it infinite attributes, and making it its own absolute.

The absolute philosophy failed because it not merely lacked a rational explanation for the world of sense, but also for another great fact of consciousness, namely, an infinitely powerful, wise and benevolent being, who upholds, preserves and governs all things; and in whom these displays of power, wisdom and benevolence, which the mind has discovered, has a satisfactory explanation. It made the mind the originator of its own phenomena, and hence it had no other reality than the creatures of the mind. The mind was its own absolute. And even the mind resolved itself into bare ideas or naked thought. This system unquestionably showed great mental acumen, but it failed to satisfy the great cry of the human reason after God as well as to account for its belief in an external world. Hence this system is being modified, explained away and abandoned by its own adherents.

On the other hand the Positive philosophy failed, or must fail, because it utterly ignored two great fields of investigation that have occupied many of the profoundest philosophical thinkers from the very dawn of philosophy to the present, viz., metaphysics and religion. It had no use for anything but bare facts, material entities. It deliberately closed its eyes to the great problems of metaphysics and religion and declared them antiquated, though they demand more attention year by year. It boldly declared that there were no such problems, and if there were we could know nothing about them. Hence it has been called the philosophy of the unknowable. But the mind of man cannot long remain satisfied with a system of knownothingism. It demands knowledge. It will not rest with any thing short of a rational solution of the great problems of being. It demands this in connection with the material as well as the ideal. It wants to know what this material is, whether a reality or a mere appearance? Whence it is? Why these changes, these marks

of design in it? And it will not be hushed by a mere ignoring of its questions. It must have what it can recognize as a rational solution of these things. Suppose the universe could be evolved from a lump of protoplasm, as Darwin supposed, yet the mind would demand a satisfactory account of that lump, with all of its wonderful powers, before it would rest; and, unless that wonderful protoplasm could be accounted for, it would reject the whole theory of Evolution. Thus when Darwin begs that he may be permitted this amazing molecule of matter to start with, without being obliged to account for it, he surrenders his whole theory in so far as it was aimed to be a final explanation of things. Thus Positivism fails because it cannot answer some of the most interesting and fundamental questions of the mind.

Some of the individual systems of philosophy may come nearer being the Final one than either of the extremes here indicated; as for example that of Plato, or that of Descartes. But neither of these is satisfactory, for the former develops the *ideal* at the expense of the *real*, and the latter confounds them, or makes the one but the manifestation of the other. That none of the systems that have been erected up to this time can be the Final, is apparent from the fact that there is no prevailing system. Every system so far has been shown to have its weakness, its imperfections.

Is a Final system of philosophy possible? Hamilton thought not. But how can we account for this intense desire of the mind to know the final explanation of things, if they are unexplainable? Why is the mind by its inherent nature compelled to try to solve these final problems, if they have no solution? Is the mind forever, like the caged eagle, to beat its wings against the bars of its prison, and never have its desire gratified? Hamilton says, "It is the weakness of noble minds never to despair of philosophy." But is not the mind so constituted that it cannot despair? In spite of his wonderful logic he was not able to disabuse his mind of this idea. Hence we must believe that such a system is possible. We are compelled, at least, to act as though it were. The solution of these final problems is not impossible. The materials are certainly given somewhere by which

they may be solved, if they are only sought and properly used. If philosophers would but lay aside all prejudice and predisposition, toward pet theories, and would unite in an earnest and sincere search for truth, wherever it may be found, the task might not be so difficult as many suppose. But no matter how difficult, the end sought is worthy the utmost effort.

It is probably too early to construct this Final system of philosophy, though many attempts are already being made, yet may we not even now be able to indicate the line along which this philosophy must be constructed. Prof. Shields thinks this will be done by a reconciliation, and a joining of forces, of the two great tendencies of philosophy. Dr. Sam'l Sprecher says: "I think the Final Philosophy will neither be any of the present systems nor a combination of them, nor yet an entirely new system but a transcending of them which will embrace all the phenomena in both the materialistic, or positive, and the idealistic philosophies. There is no system of philosophy extant that will do this." Hence the Final Philosophy must rise above the present philosophies. It must find some point of union between the two great tendencies and harmonize their facts. Trendelenburg thought he had found the principle of union between the two in *motion*, which he declared common to thought and being. However that may be there evidently is a point of union between them, viz., the idea of an infinite, of an intelligent, of a personal, of a self-existent first cause, which is the cause of all finite things. It is true that the extreme, on the one side, ignores this idea, or declares it unknowable; and that the extreme on the other hand, has met it by making the human reason omniscient; but, nevertheless, it is the one great central idea in both systems. On the ideal side we have not only a Descartes, a Leibnitz, a Hartly, etc., who admit the absolute necessity of such an infinite intelligence to account for finite intelligence, but also a Kant, who, though he denies that the existence or non-existence of such a being can be demonstrated by the speculative reason, yet declares his existence to be the absolute demand of the practical reason. And even the most extreme Absolutists admit the existence of such a being to be necessary in that they try to supply his place by the finite reason. On the



other hand, in the natural and positive sciences, we have the necessity of such a being, to account for existing facts, declared by the greatest names in their domain. In Astronomy, Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, Mitchell, etc.; in Geology, Boyle, Hugh Miller, Dana, Guyot, etc.; in Natural History and Science, Ray, Cuvier, Ritter, Agassiz, etc. Even a Darwin could not account for his prolific molecule of protoplasm without admitting the existence of such a being. Thus it is seen that both these tendencies demand an infinite, self-existent, intelligent first cause as the cause of all things else. They have different ideas as to what the true nature of this great first cause, which is so absolutely demanded, is, but it is nevertheless present in their systems as the one great point they have in common. This undeniable principle gives them a common and harmonious standpoint, from which they should act in unison. "The mind," says Trendelenburg, "is indirectly forced to posit the absolute, and to posit it in such a form that the world in its unity may be viewed as in some sense the visible, corporeal counterpart of the creative spirit. Hence we must apprehend the world in its most intimate nature, in order to understand God in his essence. To this end, all sciences must co-operate for the building up of an organic philosophy of things, a philosophy having its foundation in the firm ground of the individual, the particular, and in which nothing real is divorced from its corresponding thought and no thought is without its realization—a philosophy in which things are exhibited as setting forth the reality of the divine idea, and the divine idea as constituting the truth of things. In such a philosophy the world is the glory of God and God is the postulate of the world. Where the separate sciences work in opposite and hostile directions, it is the mission of philosophy to reconcile their differences by showing them their place in that single whole, which is ruled and comprehended by mind alone, and so direct them that they shall all appear but as partial manifestations of one organic idea of the universe."

Whatever the Final Philosophy may be it must begin with facts in consciousness. These present the most reliable basis; for if that which appears in consciousness is not reliable nothing can be. We can in that event have no reliable basis of knowl-

edge or philosophy. Hence modern philosophy started with the fact of self-consciousness. Descartes said, I think, therefore I am. That is, through thought he became conscious of his own existence. This then was a fact that had to be accounted for. What is this self? Whence is it? Why is it? What will become of it? These questions pressed for an answer. They could not be ignored. They led to others of as great, or greater, importance. Thus his philosophical system was constructed. Perhaps the first fact in consciousness is that of being, entity, existence; a consciousness that something is. The mind next becomes conscious of the existence of itself, or it becomes self-conscious. Along with this comes also a consciousness of something other than itself, or a world-consciousness. From the contemplation of these two, or in some way, it becomes conscious of a *God*, to whom it attributes the creation and preservation of self and the world. Thus we have three great facts in consciousness, the *universe*, *self*, and *God*. These great ideas are not innate in the sense that we were born with them in the mind, but they are innate in the sense that the mind has a special receptivity for them. They are not the result of education solely, for no amount of drilling could impress them on the mind of a horse or a dog. But it is natural for the human mind to conceive them. Hence they are found in every sane mind that is capable of reasoning. For these great facts in consciousness the Final Philosophy must account rationally. It dare not, as has already been said, ignore them. But as has been shown, in the examinations of the tendencies of philosophical thought, the mind attributes its own existence and that of the world also to God, whom it considers the great uncaused cause of all things. It does this because it is so constituted that it must have a designer for design, a cause for an effect, an independent for a dependent, an infinite for a finite, a perfect for an imperfect. I know that Hume argued that these ideas come through experience, as for example the apparent relation of cause and effect, and that they are not necessarily true. If this were the case the mind might be disabused of these notions, but in spite of all of Hume's logic humanity is still looking for a cause ad-

equate to the effect, for an infinite to embrace the finite. It may be true that the proofs thus far discovered for a self-caused, all-wise, personal being, who is the sufficient cause of all else, do not amount to an absolute demonstration. But does his existence need demonstrating? Does the mind need a demonstration for that which is to it self-evident; for that which is absolutely necessary for its own being. Does the mind, or reason, any where ask for a demonstration of that which is self-evident, axiomatic? It does not ask of mathematics, even, that it demonstrate its own axioms, neither ought it demand of philosophy a proof for that which is necessary and self-evident; for that, the truth of which, it beholds immediately. In fact the existence of God can be just as easily demonstrated as the existence of the world, or of the mind itself, or the axioms of mathematics. The Final Philosophy will therefore take this demand of reason for an absolute, for an infinite, intelligent, personal God, as a fixed point from which to explain being, the existence of itself and the world. And this will not be irrational, but will be meeting the very highest demand of the reason. It is infinitely more reasonable, or philosophic, to postulate an intelligent, personal, infinite, spiritual being as the creator of things, than to suppose them the result of non-intelligent, unconscious selection, or chance. Only the fool could say in his heart, there is no God. The common reason of sane humanity declares in favor of God and against the extreme notions of Absolutism and Positivism. The Final Philosophy in postulating this supreme being will therefore be doing only that which is the very highest demand of finite reason. Here reason can rest, being satisfied, but here alone.

But is this God knowable? The extreme positivist declares him, even should he exist, unknowable. But how could the reason have a conception of a being who is wholly unknowable? That it has a conception of such a being is the testimony of the whole of humanity. He must, therefore, be knowable, not comprehensible by the finite reason, but, nevertheless, apprehensible. And the knowledge of reason is reliable so far as it goes. We conclude, and rationally, too, when we look at an intricate and useful machine that it had an intelligent maker, though we

never saw him. Shall he, therefore, who made the eye, not see? or the ear, not hear? or the knowable mind, not know? or the personality, not be a person? Can the creator of the conscious mind be unconscious? or of the free will himself be a slave? Reason gives emphatic answers to these questions, for it sees at once that it cannot be otherwise. It cannot know all about this being, but it can know something from the things which he has made, "even his eternal power and Godhead."

And that which reason has postulated as a necessary, a self-evident principle for the explanation of being, is also declared by a special revelation. Now the Final Philosophy will not accept this revelation without a thorough rational investigation, neither will it reject it if it should prove to be well founded and genuine, but it will gratefully accept it as supplementary to its own. There is nothing unphilosophic, or irrational, *per se*, in the idea of an infinite mind making a special revelation of itself to the finite mind, especially not if the finite mind has to some extent lost its knowledge of the infinite. It is the most reasonable thing to suppose that this God, whose footprints we see all about us, will speak also to us. Hence the claims of this special revelation will be thoroughly investigated by the Final Philosophy and, if found genuine, will be accepted with joy.

And it is also claimed that this God reveals himself unto the hearts of those who comply with the conditions of this special revelation in an especial manner. It is claimed that the God thus revealed speaks peace unto these souls, drives away their fears and gives them the blessed assurance of eternal life. The Final Philosophy will not fail either to investigate the claims of Christian experience and to receive its testimony also if it proves genuine. This philosophy will have no prejudice against revelation or Christian experience, but will go hand in hand with them if it finds that they have the truth as their content. It will recognize the great truth that truth must be harmonious, for God is *one*. Thus the Final Philosophy will in all probability be truly Christian. Dr. Sam'l Sprecher again says, "It," the Final Philosophy, "will be the philosophy resulting more and more from the observation of the facts of the contact of the soul of man with God as well as with the created world. Just

as the doctrines of Christianity have made the modern systems of philosophy differ from the ancient, so will the *extensive and continued experience of its power make the (Final) system differ from all the past and the present.*"

This will not necessitate philosophy usurping the sphere of religion, nor religion that of philosophy, not at all. Philosophy has come by her truths in an independent way, by the way of rational investigation; while religion has come by hers through a special revelation. Philosophy will not be so unphilosophical as to reject the truths of religion simply because she has come by them in a different way. All that she will demand is that they be veritable truths, and if, after investigation, they prove to be such, she will gladly receive them as supplementing and substantiating her own, for the very essence of the true philosophical spirit of a love of truth for truth's sake. On the other hand religion will not be slow in appealing to philosophy to prove that her truths are both rational and necessary. Thus the Final Philosophy and religion will not only be harmonious, but mutually helpful. Thus religion will substantiate and supplement the truths of reason, while reason will show the rationality of religion and will give her a solution of many problems unrevealed. Thus revelation reveals the creator and governor, but it does not reveal the process of creation, nor the wonderful laws of that creation, etc. This reason must discover.

The Final Philosophy having thus by rational investigation secured a sure foundation, and an ultimate principle sufficient to explain all being, will go on searching for truth in every domain and will construct it into a rational and symmetrical system that will be comprehensive enough to embrace all truth. In this beautiful temple of knowledge, of which the God of truth is the foundation and the capstone, every truth will find its proper and appropriate niche, whether it comes from the external world, the mind, or the eternal and infinite. And when this temple shall have been constructed it will be a matter of astonishment that there should ever have been a war between truths that are so harmonious and necessary to each other.

## ARTICLE IV.

## REMINISCENCES OF REV. JOHN UHLHORN.

Read before the German Historical Society of Maryland, by,  
JOHN G. MORRIS.

I purpose this evening to record some reminiscences and biographic incidents concerning the Rev. John Uhlhorn, who from 1822 to 1833 was associate pastor of Zion's church on Gay Street with the venerable Rev. Dr. J. Daniel Kurtz. I was a cotemporary pastor of another congregation, and was on terms of intimate familiarity with them both for some years. Mr. Uhlhorn, of whom I now speak more particularly, was during his residence here a conspicuous figure in one department of Baltimore Germandom, and as such he eminently deserves the notice of our society.

Mr. Uhlhorn was born in Bremen in 1793, came to Baltimore in 1822, when he was 29 years of age, and immediately entered upon his career as assistant pastor of old Zion's, of which our honored member Dr. Scheib is still pastor, after a service of over 50 years.

Before Mr. Uhlhorn came here, the congregation had declined and it was thought by the leading members that the preaching of a young and eloquent man would bring back many who had become careless and had strayed away. They could not secure the man they wanted from the ranks of the German ministers of that day in this country, and having heard of the extraordinary pulpit ability and refined scholarship of Mr. Uhlhorn in Bremen, they elected him assistant to Dr. Kurtz. He accepted the call and arrived here as above specified. I have not been able to ascertain whether he had been pastor of any church in Bremen but it is certain that he was a very popular preacher, and had many friends among the influential families of that city.

He was warmly received here and became an inmate of the family of Mr. Philip Rau, a respectable merchant of that day at the corner of Paca and Franklin, but whose residence was on

Penn'a Avenue, near Biddle. Mr. Rau was connected by marriage with the Sauerwein, Sadtler and Boehm families and was a man of influence in Zion's church.

Mr. Uhlhorn came here as a young, highly educated and fashionably attired clergyman, and for some time he retained some of the peculiarities of the Bremen costume. He wore frills to his shirt bosom and his hands, as well as rings in his ears and on his fingers and cultivated his hair to hang in rather long curls over his shoulder. He however soon laid aside this apparent foppishness in dress by the advice of friends and conformed to our plainer American style.

In 1824 (?) he married Miss Doris Tensfeldt of this city. Two daughters and two sons were born to them; one of the daughters died at 10 or 12 years of age; the other daughter is still living here; the sons emigrated to the west many years ago where they both died. Mrs. Uhlhorn herself died in Baltimore about a year ago.

Mr. Uhlhorn's health gradually declined and in 1833 he determined quite suddenly to return to Europe, leaving his family here. I was very intimate with him and was familiar with his proceedings, but I was amazed one night upon meeting him in a public hall, when he told me that he was going to sail for Bremen on the next day. I took a last and sorrowful leave of him, believing it was the last I should ever see of poor Uhlhorn, and unhappily it so turned out. He died there in March of the following year in the house of one of his old friends who cherished him with all the affection of a father. When I went to Bremen in 1846, I visited this old man at Mrs. Uhlhorn's request and ascertained the particulars of his death and burial, although about ten years had already elapsed since that event. When I told the good old man, whose name was Kruse, the design of my visit, and that for ten years I had been the intimate friend of his protégé, he burst out into a fit of convulsive weeping and lamented as if for his own first-born. It was an affecting interview in which my own feelings were tenderly aroused. At Mrs. Uhlhorn's request, I also visited the grave of her husband, drew a sketch of the monument his admirers had erected over him



and copied the long inscription from it which I sent to her.  
*Requiescat in pace.*

But it is of the preacher, the scholar and the man I would particularly speak.

He had all the elements of the pulpit orator, a full orotund voice, a pleasing personal appearance, a perfect memory, a thorough acquaintance with his subject, complete self possession, fluency of speech and brilliant imagination. His descriptive powers were inimitable, his bursts of emotion were sometimes overwhelming, his gesture in itself was speaking. No wonder that in the first years of his ministry here he drew immense audiences. Old Zion could sometimes not hold the crowds which came to hear him preach. The Germans of every class and modes of thought from every section of the city rushed to Gay Street every Sunday to secure seats in the church, and no wonder, for never before had the German church in Baltimore such a mighty preacher. Hundreds unused to church-going hung upon his utterances with rapture,—they left the place of worship delighted and they were loud in the expression of their admiration. His manner in the pulpit would be considered rather overstrained, or what some would style theatrical, at the present day, but in his more moderate moods, he was simply grand and impressive. As an instance of his descriptive power, I will state an interesting incident. I read a published lecture *On Action* in elocution in a New England periodical, which the lecturer illustrated by an example he had witnessed in Baltimore. He says, that happening to be in Baltimore one Sunday, he strayed into a church, attracted by the music. He soon discovered it was a German church and he did not understand one word of the language. He concluded however to remain. He then describes the manner of the preacher and afterwards inquired whether the subject of his discourse was not The Prodigal Son, which he was told was the fact. He says, from the manner and *action* of the speaker, he could see the inconsiderate young man leaving his father's house—his subsequent career—his lamentations in his impoverished condition—his contrition over his folly—his resolution to return—his confession of his sin to the father and the father's joyful reception of him—that all these scenes were

so impressively acted out in the manner, tones, words and gestures of the preacher, that the scene could be no other than that of the Prodigal Son and he brought it before his class as an illustration of *action* in elocution. I remember showing this article to Uhlhorn, but he had too much good sense to betray any feeling of gratified vanity.

His talent for word painting, as it is called, was remarkable. His description of character by his gesture and elocutionary action was extremely accurate and striking. An acquaintance of mine once heard him preach on the parable of the Pharisee and Publican, and he says that the description of these two diverse characters was wonderfully dramatic. He represented the pompous, boastful, pretentious self-righteousness of the one and the humble, penitential self-abasing behavior of the other not only in words but in action and look and gesture. He scowled with contempt upon the poor publican in his imitation of the pharisee and shed tears of penitence with him when he offered his fervent prayer.

Numerous striking instances of a similiar character might be given. In addition to his extraordinary descriptive talent, he had an uncommon faculty of influencing crowds in a state of panic or subduing to calmness a mass of people from a high and dangerous degree of excitement.

Dr. Sadtler has furnished me with the following fact illustrative of Mr. Uhlhorn's power over a crowd of highly alarmed people.

On one Sunday just about the close of the morning service a terrific storm occurred. The church was shrouded in twilight gloom within while without the rain descended in such overwhelming torrents that the audience could not leave the building. The lightning was most vivid and the reverberating thunder was so instantaneous that the people were in constant alarm lest the edifice or the lofty shot-tower adjoining would be struck and utter destruction would befall them. They stood around in excited and terrified groups, some ready to scream as crash succeeded crash. Then Mr. Uhlhorn ascended the pulpit and called upon them to be quietly seated. The burst of eloquence that followed was not easy to be forgotten by those who heard it. Naturally, he descanted upon the almighty power of God, but

he soon glided over into the more consoling assurance that that power was tempered with mercy and that the God of the storm was also an omnipotent Father who loves his children. It was not long before that excited congregation was reduced to perfect calmness, and mingled awe and confidence took the place of abject fear and quaking terror. With a touching prayer he dismissed them as the storm abated.

But the admiration of Mr. Uhlhorn's preaching was too intense to last; the people began to grow tired of these repeated pulpit exhibitions of unctuous sweetness, as is always the result of analogous displays; the crowds thinned out, and in the course of a few years, the congregation dwindled down grievously. I have heard him preach on a Sunday afternoon to less than a hundred persons, though this is not a fair test but it is true, that the morning audiences had also declined. This, of course, mortified Uhlhorn exceedingly, although perhaps, he was to be blamed for a part of the decadence.

There are not a few English pulpits in Baltimore which have had the same experience. When a gifted man by one bound, as it were, attains the height of celebrity, he is apt to grow giddy—the sudden elevation intoxicates him and he falls almost as soon as he rose. A sky rocket makes a dazzling display and for awhile draws the admiring attention of the crowd but, after a few brilliant bursts of stars and sparks, it comes down shorn of all its fiery coruscations.

On the other hand, the man of the pulpit or of any other pursuit, who slowly mounts the steep, sometimes even falling back some steps, but gradually going up and up by constant endeavor and untiring energy and at last reaching the summit, will remain there as the reward of his struggle and to the admiration of the public.

Mr. Uhlhorn was endowed with a wonderfully retentive memory. I have heard him repeat odes of Anacreon and of other Greek poets with perfect correctness. He could recite chapters of the Bible and other books without scarcely missing a word. But these were not the most striking proofs of the strength of his memory. Old Dr. Kurtz has told me that Uhlhorn could

repeat a long German hymn *backward*, after reading it over several times.

This remarkable faculty was sometimes put to the test in the company of friends. He would be challenged to give an illustration of it and would accept it. A German hymn unfamiliar to him, and we know they are usually long, was selected and he would retire to a corner of the room, and after reading it over several times, he would return and repeat every word of it. When the astonishment of persons present was expressed in strongest terms, he sometimes would quietly say, "Perhaps, I can do better than that," and reading the long hymn over again several times, he would repeat it *backward* with surprising correctness. He had a good voice as a vocalist as well as a speaker and there were at that time few professional singers who could render such pieces as "In diesen heiligen hallen" with more artistic power than he.

He was well acquainted with the German poets, and could quote passages from them to any extent.

He was an ardent admirer of the beauties of nature and I often took long walks with him to the country when he would pour off a series of original verses in a sort of adoring ecstasy of the enchanting scene around him or quote German poetry expressive of the beauties of nature.

He was a poet himself and I have a copy of a German hymn he wrote to the grand old melody of "Wie schoen leicht um der morgenstern" which was sung at the laying of the corner-stone of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, at Gettysburg, on which occasion, he also delivered an oration.

His power of impromptu versification was simply marvelous. I never met a man who equaled him in this talent. I have heard him recite, off-hand, verses of good character upon subjects that were before the company or upon men present showing that they were extemporized on the spot, and many of them were unsurpassed for genuine wit and brilliant fancy. This faculty, besides his other social accomplishments, rendered him a very agreeable companion when he was in the mood, for he like other men of genius had his seasons of real or imaginary depression. The fragrant flower sometimes hangs its head and

droops but expands its petals again when the sun-light falls upon it after a refreshing shower.

I do not remember that he ever told me that he had a German University education. I should judge that he had not. He was not what we call a scientific theologian, by which, I mean he was not an encyclopedist in theology nor in general science but he was a well read man and never forgot what he read. He must have had a good gymnasium training for he seemed to be familiar with the Greek and Latin classics.

Mr. Uhlhorn was extremely neat in his dress and precise in person, never appearing in public without a scrupulous attention to what is regarded as distinctive of a well bred gentleman. His study was an example of order and cleanliness unlike that of many scholars, or diligent readers. It looked more like a lady's sitting room than a student's apartment. There was no smell of tobacco smoke, no books lying loose on the floor or on chairs, no scraps of paper on the clean carpet or on his desk, not even a spittoon was seen, and much less a row of tobacco pipes suspended from the wall. His library was not large, and he was not what we would now call a profound student, nor even a close reader. He depended too much on his wonderful gift of extempore speech and a general knowledge of matters suited to the pulpit. He never cultivated authorship, and I do not remember ever seeing any thing from his pen in print, except a few addresses and poems.

On the 29th of Oct., 1833, he sailed for Bremen in the vain hope of improving his health, which had been impaired for some time previously. His friends took a melancholy farewell of him on the deck of the ship, many of whom apprehending that it was the last time they should ever see him. He arrived out safely in November and received a most hearty welcome from many of his former associates and admirers in that city. Although the voyage had not improved his health, yet he preached twice in the Dom, where he was obliged to exert himself unusually to be heard by all who filled that capacious building. Besides this, the excitement of the occasion and the highly wrought expectations of the immense crowd which thronged the house even to the doors had an unfavorable influence upon his nervous system

and his bronchial affection, so that he declined from day to day. I have seen the last letter which he wrote to his wife dated Mar. 3, 1834, in which he expresses the ardent hope of soon seeing her and the children. It is full of tender, loving and parental solicitude: whilst he recites some of the many evidences of the kindness of his Bremen friends and of the numerous invitations to their hospitable homes, he informs her that he had taken passage on the ship Braunschweig, Captain Baltgen, which would sail in a few weeks,—but at the same time he complains of a troublesome cough and hoarseness which annoyed him much.

On the 10th of the month the disease assumed such a dangerous aspect that his physician, Dr. Barkhausen, pronounced him beyond the reach of medical skill, and on the 22nd he died at the age of 41, in the arms of his friend Kruse, a respected citizen of Bremen.

In a letter of Mr. Kruse to Mrs. Uhlhorn he says, "I cannot describe my feelings, and as I and my family mourn, so mourns the whole city of Bremen. \* \* He was, so to speak, a member of my household during his life, and as we desired to bear the same relations in death, his mortal remains will be buried in my family vault on the 27th of this month."

The lifeless remains were kept in this man's house until the day of the funeral. It was crowded every day by multitudes of persons who went to testify their respect for the man whom they had admired and to whose preaching in the Dom they had listened with rapture. The funeral was attended by thousands of persons not only from Bremen but from other places and it occurred on the very day on which the Braunschweig sailed for Baltimore, so that instead of taking him as a passenger, it conveyed to his family and friends the sad although not unexpected intelligence of his death. Six ministers headed the procession of whom Rev. Dr. Kottmaier had delivered a touching discourse in the house. It was such a funeral as the Germans well know how to arrange and carry out, when a man of distinction is buried. As may be supposed the Bremen papers were filled with obituary eulogies, poems and the chief incidents of his life,

reciting in the loftiest language the wonderful gifts and pulpit eloquence of the lamented Uhlhorn.

From one of these poems consisting of 10 stanzas of six lines each, I will read the first two :

Ist Uhlhorn todt? tönt's bang von Mund zu Munde,

Ist sie dann wahr, die trauervolle Kunde?

Ist uns sein Geist so früh entflohn?

Er dessen Wort den weiten Dom erfüllte,

In Lichtgewand den Ernst der Wahrheit hüllte

Steht schon vor Gottes ew' gen Thron?

Zu früh für uns zu früh von hier geschieden

Für viele, denen herzlich er hinieden,

Ein Freund, Berather, Bruder war!

Ach, wär en, nicht so bald, so bald ge storben,

Hätt er den Beifall Tausender erworben!

Auch fern von uns, noch manches Jahr!

On the Sunday after the funeral, four of the Dom preachers delivered brief addresses after the regular funeral sermon and Dr. Kottmaier after uttering many things complimentary to the deceased, said, "He had a long cherished desire to revisit his native city and his numerous friends here by whom he was received with hearty rejoicing in November of last year. They gathered by thousands to hear him preach twice in the Dom. They felt themselves drawn to him and edified by the vivacity and clearness of his discourses, by the wonderful beauty of his illustrations and by the forcible presentation of divine truth. Truly, he was gifted with wonderful pulpit ability."

That was 57 years ago and yet while few of our circle of acquaintance ever knew him, there are still some of us who remember him distinctly and though Uhlhorn had many of the infirmities of our human nature, yet we will hold his name in reverence and honor as long as we remain among the living.



## ARTICLE V.

MASSILLON.

By REV. H. H. HALL, A. M., New Lisbon, Ohio.

There is a tendency to think that the last subject we consider is the most important and best. We have an illustration of this in every pulpit in the land. If a preacher is very much in earnest and has an enthusiasm of his subject, he is apt to make one phase of truth everything upon one Sabbath and another upon the next. It is because truth is many-sided, and we can never say all, even, though we run the risk of contradicting ourselves. Henry Ward Beecher said: "When I discourse about Moses I am sure that he is the greatest man that ever lived; and when I discourse about Paul, I know that he is the greatest man that ever lived." We have now written of Bourdaloue and Bossuet and Fenelon, and in spite of what has just been stated, we dare to say, that we here take up the pen to write, take him all in all, of the most gifted and extraordinary of the powerful preachers of the time of Louis XIV. Bossuet was a great man and sublime orator. Fenelon was a saint and pastor. Bourdaloue was a priest, and in addressing the hearts and consciences of his hearers, was without a rival. He was called "The king of preachers, and the preacher of kings." But as he neared the end of life, in magnanimity of spirit, he said of young Massillon what John the Baptist spake of Christ, "He must increase but I must decrease." The successor became "the most exquisite and most attractive of preachers."

Jean Baptiste Massillon was born June 24th, 1663, at Hyeres, in Provence. Early in life, he had those graces of person and speech, which command at once the favorable notice of mankind and foretell future preëminence. At the age of 18, he entered the congregation of the oratory. The following year, he began the study of theology, and then became a professor in one of the colleges. Soon, his lectures gave him high stand-

ing. But his success as a speaker, manifest in several funeral orations and other discourses he had already delivered, marked him out for the pulpit, instead of the professor's chair, although his own preference inclined him to the latter. He had an excessive modesty of disposition and wished to be obscure. His residence, for a while at Septfonds, was entirely agreeable to his passion for seclusion, and all his life, it is said he was attended with a longing for the sweet solitude of that abbey. But in obedience to the order of his superior, he came to Paris, and his eloquence was so uncommon, that he moved the town. The King wished to hear him at court, and he preached before that august presence. He took for his text, "Blessed are those that weep," and began with these words:

"Sire, if the world should speak in place of Jesus Christ, it would not, doubtless, address to your majesty the same language.

'Blessed is the prince,' it would say to you, 'who has never fought without being victorious; who has seen so many Powers armed against him, only to give them a glorious peace (*the peace of Ryswick*), and who has always been superior both to danger and to victory!

Blessed is the prince who, during the course of a long and flourishing reign, enjoys at leisure the fruits of his glory, the love of his people, the respect of his enemies, the admiration of the world! \* \*

Thus would the world speak; but, sire, Jesus Christ does not speak like the world.

'Blessed,' he says to you, 'is not he who is the admiration of his age, but he who is chiefly occupied with the age to come, and who lives in contempt of himself and of all that passes. \* \*

'Blessed is not he whose reign and deeds are destined to be immortalized by history in the memories of men, but he whose tears shall have effaced the history of his sins from the memory of God himself,' etc., etc."\*

Paris was soon filled with his fame.

In the above extract, there appears a disposition to flattery and homage, which seemed to characterize, to a considerable

---

\*Mathew's Monday Chats.

degree, the preaching of Massillon. On account of this, he was severely criticised. Calumny whispered of an understanding between Louis XIV. and the great preacher. Furthermore, Voltaire wrote to Argental, "The sermons of father Massillon are one of the most *agreeable works* we have in our language. I love to have them read to me at table." The query arises, what was there in this man or his preaching, that made his discourses "agreeable" to such men as Voltaire and Louis XIV? It was even hinted that a scandal, affecting Massillon, caused a feeling of affinity between these men. But all the atmosphere of France, and especially of Paris and the court of Louis, at that time, is sufficient explanation, in his exculpation from the charge of compliment. Paul had a remarkable suavity, but he never spared the sinner. So Massillon. His sermons are before us, and we wonder at the simplicity and directness of their style. There is no sign of effort at studied phraseology, which always destroys the grace and beauty of the Gospel. Like Demosthenes, he had an eye to truth. He did not ease the consciences of his hearers and make the matter of salvation an easy thing. Upon the subject of sudden conversions, which often occurred under the power of his eloquence, he was troubled and uneasy. He seemed to have little faith in "these sudden miracles which, in a twinkling of an eye, change the face of things—which plant, which pluck up, which destroy, which build up at the first onset. An illusion, my dear hearer," he went on to say; "conversion is usually a slow, tardy miracle, the fruit of cares, of troubles, of frights, and of bitter inquietudes." And the praise, which the king himself paid him, is not only significant upon this point, but a striking testimony of his gift as a preacher of God's word. He said: "In hearing some preachers, I feel pleased with them; in hearing you, I feel displeased with myself." Religion, with Massillon, was a serious business. And the tremendous effect of his discourses upon his audiences, is sufficient proof of his absolute sincerity. There is nothing in all the annals of the Church, like the attitude of this man of transcendent genius, standing before the court of France, rarely polished it is true, but voluptuous as could be, and drawing and holding and moving them, as people never were moved with

his heart—searching and spiritual expositions of the plain doctrines of Jesus. It also affords an illustration of the unparalleled power of the simple Gospel, proclaimed to the world. Says James, "Raise me but a barn under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral, and give me a man who shall preach Christ crucified with something of the energy which the all-inspiring theme is calculated to awaken, and you shall see it crowded with warm hearts; while in the statelier building hard by, if that Gospel be not preached there, the martins and vespers shall be chanted only to the statues of the mighty dead."

The printed discourses of Massillon became, at once, part of French literature. "We know no other instance of a writer," says Wilkinson, "limited in his production strictly to sermons, who holds his place in the first rank of authorship simply by virtue of supreme mastership in literary style." His chief work is, "*Le Petit Careme*"—The Little Lent, which is composed of sermons preached before the king's successor, young Louis XV. D'Alembert tells us, that Voltaire had always lying on his table the *Petit Careme* of Massillon, to fix his taste in prose. In this little work, containing six sermons, written in six weeks, the preacher lectures those in high place upon important truths and government. The purpose of the book was to guide the young king, just as Fenelon's great work was written for his royal pupil. And in lauding it, somebody exclaims: "The *Petit Careme* of Massillon, a masterpiece fallen from heaven, like *Telemaque*, sweet and sublime lessons which kings should read, which the peoples should adore!"

We speak here of a matter, to which reference has already been made. And, but for a talent which Massillon had in a most wonderful degree, we would not allude to it again. He was asked one day, where he had obtained such knowledge of human passions and sins, and his reply was, "From my own heart." However it was, his understanding of the world and the human heart was amazing. Beautiful and tender sensibility in youth, and in later years so celebrated and popular, sought for by the people, who ran continually after him, it may indeed be, that in one or other of these periods, there was a slip of passion.

It is certain, that he was the subject of unremitting assault from envious and malignant enemies, which fact, considering his exceeding sensitiveness and modesty, makes his life, to us, extremely pathetic. He seems to reply to these charges and innuendoes in his sermon, "On the World's Injustice toward Good People," and in that, "On Slander." "Never, perhaps, was there a Christian orator who possessed a more perfect knowledge of the heart of man. He insinuates himself into its inmost recesses: he explores and lays open every avenue to public inspection. He delineates the affections, describes the first causes of the corruption, and displays the inward workings of the mind, with such precision and clearness, that every individual who has departed from the ways of virtue beholds as exact a delineation of his features, as if the picture had been designed for him alone."\* In illustration of what is here stated, let us take a few quotations. In his discourse, "On a Future State," after speaking of doubts upon the subject, he proceeds to tell the cause: "The pretended discovery owes its origin to far different causes. The truths of religion began to appear doubtful, in proportion as his morals were corrupted; then only he wished to be convinced that man was like the beasts of the field, when he had brutalized the faculties of his soul; impiety gained admittance by shutting every avenue to truth; and incredulity gained his affections, when he perceived that it alone could deaden the stings of conscience, and enable him to give loose rein to the infamous passions without restraint. By these means he acquired the sublime knowledge of infidelity; by these great efforts he discovered a truth which had been concealed from, or more properly held in detestation by, the rest of men." In his sermon, "On Impurity," he portrays with striking vividness the awful degradation, disquietude and remorse of the impure and then exclaims, "Ah! my God, thus dost thou chastise the sinner by means of his very passions; and thus dost thou forewarn him, by the universal decay both of his health and fortune, of the eternal torments which thou hast in store for those who delight in carnal pleasures." In that, "On the

---

\*Rev. Edward Peach, in his preface to Massillon's Sermons.

Woman Who Sinned," he speaks of the strenuous efforts of the sinner, to conceal his crime and declares: "To all this add those cruel moments when the passion, becoming less lively, leaves us leisure to fall back upon ourselves, and to feel all the unworthiness of our condition; those moments when the heart, created for more solid pleasures, is wearied of its own idols, and finds its punishment in its disgusts and in its own inconstancy. Profane world! if this is the felicity of which you so often boast to us, confine it to your adorers!"

The plan of Massillon's sermons is extremely simple. He arranged them according to the sentiments of his text. For instance, the division of his discourse on the words. "It is finished," has been highly extolled. "This imports the consummation, first, of justice on the part of God; secondly, of wickedness on the part of men; thirdly, of love on the part of Christ. He began with a short exposition and adapted himself to even the most unlearned. His splendid and ever alert imagination adorned the sermon and made it attractive to the most elegant taste and refined scholarship. His power of amplification was unrivaled. Sainte Beuve says: "In Massillon this natural manner had no appearance of severity, but rather an appearance of abundance and overflow, like that of a stream running down a gentle declivity, the accumulated waters of which fall by their own weight. Massillon, more than any other orator, has resources for the fruitful development of moral themes; and the utmost grace and ease of diction spontaneously unite in his style, so that his long and full period is composed of a series of members and of reduplications united by a kind of insensible tie, like a large, full wave which is composed of a series of little waves." Again, "Such is the impression which Massillon has made upon me as I have read and studied him to-day in his ever beautiful, but regular and calm pages. Let us never forget, when reading them, that he is wanting who animated them by his temperate action and by his personality, he whose voice had all the tones of the soul, and of whom the great actor, Baron, said, after hearing him: 'There is an orator! we are comedians.' Let us never forget that in that eloquence, so copious and so redoubled, each of his hearers, on account of the very diversity

of expressions upon each point, found the shade of language which suited him, the echo which responded to his own heart; that that which seems to us to-day foreseen and monotonous, because our eye, as in a great alley or a long avenue, runs in an instant from one end of the page to the other, had then an increasing and a surer effect from the very continuity, when the whole, from the height of the pulpit, was gathered together, and slowly suspended, growing larger as it was unrolled, and thus, as was said of the ancient eloquence, fell at last like snow.\*"

He made few gestures, and did not thunder in the pulpit, but spoke with "sweet persuasion." To the great pulpit gifts of Bourdaloue, he added pathos. His manner was engaging and graceful, his attitude meek and modest, and himself powerfully and deeply moved, he stirred his hearers to the depths of their souls. There was nothing artificial nor farfetched, but all the beauties of expression came without his noticing them, and even the hearer was unconscious of them, "except by the enchantment which ravished him from himself." He had, when he began, a downcast eye, which he kept dropped, until after awhile, he now and then raised it and glanced over his audience. But even this was regarded, in his case, as the finest of gestures.

And in the history of oratory, one can find no grander or more consummate triumphs than crowned the efforts of Massillon. We must take into account his auditory. The court of Louis XIV. was more magnificent than that of any of his predecessors. It was so large, that it could not be accommodated in any palace in the city of Paris. So, a superb building was begun by him at Versailles, which is said to have cost two hundred millions of livres. The king burned the bills, so that the cost might never be known. Furthermore, that court was constituted of debauchees, whose licentiousness made society rotten to the core. In the matter of adulation and praise, the king was insatiable. All classes vied with each other in gratifying this inordinate appetite. It was an age of glitter, for beneath the show and veneer all was corruption. Louis increased his stature to what was thought imposing, by wearing red heels to

---

\*Mathews' Monday Chats.



his shoes four inches high, and then stalked and danced and rolled his eyes, turned out his toes and it was decided the sublimest sight upon the earth. All the gentlemen at the court strutted and stuck out their elbows and tied themselves in about the waist. Bolingbroke said of Louis XIV., that he was "the best *actor* of majesty that ever filled a throne." Well, before that audience, never exceeded in mundane polish and politeness, gay, blustering and frivolous, stood Massillon, and plead for virtue, truth and God. With such surroundings, listen to this passage from his sermon, entitled, "Fewness of the Elect."

"I confine myself to you, my brethren, who are gathered here. I speak no longer of the rest of mankind. I look at you as if you were the only ones on the earth; and here is the thought that seizes me, and that terrifies me. I make the supposition that this is your last hour, and the end of the world; that the heavens are about to open above your heads, that Jesus Christ is to appear in his glory in the midst of this sanctuary, and that you are gathered here only to wait for him, and as trembling criminals on whom is to be pronounced either a sentence of grace or a decree of eternal death. For vainly do you flatter yourselves; you will die such in character as you are to-day. All those impulses toward change with which you amuse yourselves, you will amuse yourselves with them down to the bed of death. Such is the experience of all generations. The only thing new you will then find in yourselves will be, perhaps, a reckoning a trifle larger than that which you would to-day have to render; and according to what you would be if you were this moment to be judged, you may almost determine what will befall you at the termination of your life.

"Now I ask you, and I ask you smitten with terror, not separating my lot from yours, and putting myself into the same frame of mind into which I desire you to come,—I ask you, then, if Jesus Christ were to appear in this sanctuary, in the midst of this assembly, the most illustrious in the world, to pass judgment on us, to draw the dread line of distinction between the goats and the sheep, do you believe that the majority of all of us who are here would be set on his right hand? Do you believe that things would even be equal? Nay, do you believe

there would be found so many as the ten righteous men whom anciently the Lord could not find in five whole cities? I put the question to you, but you know not; I know not myself. Thou only, O my God, knowest those that belong to thee! But if we know not those who belong to him, at least we know that sinners do not belong to him. Now, of what classes of persons do the professing Christians in this assembly consist? Titles and dignities must be counted for nought; of these you shall be stripped before Jesus Christ. Who make up this assembly? Sinners, in great number, who do not wish to be converted, only to relapse into sin; then a multitude who think they have no need of conversion. You have thus made up the company of the reprobate. Cut off these two classes of sinners from this sacred assembly, for they will be cut off from it at the great day! Stand forth now, ye righteous! where are you? Remnant of Israel, pass to the right hand! True wheat of Jesus Christ, disengage yourselves from this chaff, doomed to the fire! O God! where are thine elect? and what remains there for thy portion?

"Brethren, our perdition is well nigh assured, and we do not give it a thought. Even if in that dread separation which one day shall be made, there were to be but a single sinner out of this assembly found on the side of the reprobate, and if a voice from heaven should come to give us assurance of the fact in this sanctuary, without pointing out the person intended, who among us would not fear that he might himself be the wretch? Who among us would not at once recoil upon his conscience, to inquire whether his sins had not deserved that penalty? Who among us would not, seized with dismay, ask of Jesus Christ, as did once the apostles, 'Lord, is it I?' "\*"

It is said, that so powerfully did Massillon, on this occasion, work upon the imagination of his auditors, that they were struck with the most solemn awe. Their demonstrations made him desist for a while, but he continued and finished. After the discourse, there was no praise of the speaker, but the people, "all retired in silence, with pensive looks, downcast eyes, and sorrowful countenances."

---

\*W. C. Wilkinson's rendering.

At the funeral of Louis XIV. also. Every earthly thing is destined to pass away. Such is the lot of even greatness and grandeur. Death is the end of all.

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power, and all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave, await alike the inevitable hour." The king seemed to have it all his own way, and for many years enjoyed full swing. But the good things of life, for him, were now over. The glare and splendor were rapidly growing dim. For some time, already, there had been descending upon the scene, a gloom and darkness, which were ominous, and filled the very air with portentous and direful forebodings. Arrogance and effrontery cannot always hold out against God. At last, the *Grand Monarque* lay dead like any other mortal. The people were come together to pay to him the last, sad rite. Massillon arose in his modest downcast manner, and standing before that vast assembly, held in his hand an urn, in which, was a lock of hair from the dead man. With raised hand, he stood still and pale as a statue, until the audience were hushed into the most awful silence. Moments passed. It was thought that he had been stricken dumb before the august assemblage. Then, in tones which thrilled and brought the whole audience, at once, upon their feet, he uttered his first sentence: "God alone is great." Henry Ward Beecher manipulated the mob, when, in England, he plead the cause of the North, in our late war. Jonathan Edwards produced a mighty effect upon his congregation, when he warned them of the danger of their feet slipping. But nothing equals the stupendous victories of this eloquent preacher at the court of Versailles.

Massillon knew when he had been eloquent. When he was spoken to, of his brilliant outbursts, he replied: "The devil told me so before you." But when he thought of the transient and slight results upon their lives, these encomiums only made him sad. "And of what use is it," he would say, "for us to please you, if we do not change you? How are we benefited by our eloquence, if you are always sinners?" He further expressed his regret and the self humiliation he felt on account of these eulogiums. Alluding to humble missionaries in the country places, who did much more lasting good by their preaching, he

added, "We discourse, and they convert." How unsatisfying, after all, are the emoluments and honors of the world! They can never meet the deep needs of the soul and bring to it the joy and poise it is always wanting. Massillon realized the difficulty of doing true and radical work for our Lord among the proud people of a gay and opulent city. And, although he was remarkably distinguished and popular in Paris, and his name was great and powerful throughout all France, he thought with envy of some obscure preacher, in an obscure place. He wanted, now and then, to renounce every vestige of fame, and in some quiet parish, do good that was lasting, and which affords the spirit happiness, because it is an abiding work.

We had thought of putting upon these pages an eloquent passage from a sermon of a great preacher of modern times, so that, by contrast the wonderful stateliness of Massillon's style might the more readily appear. But we will not take the space. And this does not detract from his simplicity and plainness, but only adds an astonishing dignity. He stood and moved and spake like a giant. He had an orator's physique, but that is only helpful, not essential. Henry Grattan was short of stature, and his appearance was, in every way, against him. His arms were too long, and he strode when he walked. But though his his body swayed like a pendulum, his mind was full of grace and sympathy and splendor. It was the triumph of mind over matter. With his fine body, Massillon had a noble and beautiful mind. We see, in one respect, a similarity in him, to another Irishman—the man who for thirty-five years, in the eyes of the whole world, "stood for Ireland"—Daniel O'Connell. That kindly and gallant genius had made careful study of Pitt's speaking, and was gifted with the most natural action. He had an orator's instinct, and was never more at home than when an audience was at his feet. He never prepared his speeches. "I never write out any discourse before hand," said he, "nor could I do it without utterly cramping the force and nerve of the very limited talent I possess." For that reason his addresses often wanted finish, and were cumbrous. Sheil's phrase about him was, "He brings forth a brood of lusty thoughts without a rag to cover them." Another spake of him as "throwing out his

opinions in a negligent manner." And, still another called his speaking, "public talk." But, in spite of all that, he spoke for hours, with "superb and exhaustless eloquence." The same was true, in a measure, at least, of Massillon. Many of his discourses lacked completeness, and his finest passages often wanted proper setting. Like the eagle, he had to be free, and studied form seemed to hinder his flight, trammelled his genius and power.

His last years were spent quietly, in his country seat, at Beauregard. Here he plied his pen, now and then, as the humor took him, entertained his friends, and issued forth, occasionally, to preach a sermon, or administer some rite of the church. He died September 18th, 1742, in his eightieth year. We close with these words of Sainte Beuve :

"I recollect that formerly M. Ampire, in his lectures at the College of France, wishing to characterize those three great epochs of Pulpit Eloquence among us, the time of its creation and puissant establishment by Bossuet, the time of its full growth under Bourdaloue, and finally the epoch of its extreme expansion and autumnal fertility under Massillon, connected with it the ancient names, now become symbols, which consecrate the three great periods of the tragic stage in Greece. Of these names there are two at least which may be recalled here without incongruity ; there is something of the greatness and of the majesty of Æschylus, as well as of Corneille, in Bossuet, just as there may be visible something of Euripides, as well as of Racine, in Massillon." \* \* \*

"With him expired the last, the most abundantly eloquent, and the most Ciceronian of the great voices which had filled and moved the age of Louis the Fourteenth."

## ARTICLE VI.

## A PRACTICAL VIEW OF THE COMMON SERVICE.

By REV. J. B. REMENSNYDER, D. D., New York.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating," runs the homely adage. This is only another way of saying that the test of a theory is its working in practice. The writer is in a position to speak from this standpoint with regard to the Common Service. It has now been in use in his congregation for more than a year. Its practical efficiency as an order of public worship has been thoroughly tested. The experiment, too, has been upon a proportional scale. It has not been in some small inland village, remote from the currents agitating the life of the church, but in the chief metropolis of the nation, where those tendencies are developing and coming into collision, which will inevitably shape the future of Protestantism. The test is more complete also in a large city, because of the wide extremes embraced in such a membership. Here, the rich and the poor; the highly cultivated and the most illiterate; the ritualistic and the Puritanic, meet together in the same congregation. And what has been the verdict? I can best express it in the language of one of my most intelligent members who voluntarily remarked to me the other day: "Was there ever such a success as the Common Service—every one has admired it and not one word of complaint has ever been uttered against it." And still more recently a deacon said to me. "The Common Service is much more devotional than the old Service; every one notices the difference; that it is a more complete, satisfactory worship is felt by all." It is the unanimous feeling of the congregation that it is a most fitting, appropriate, devotional and beautiful, in short, an *ideal service*.

And what is yet more pleasing is the favorable impression made upon strangers and members of other churches. Without exception they have expressed their delight with it as a judi-

cious mean between the excess of the Episcopal service, and the meagreness of non-liturgic services. But what is better and more significant still, is the attention which it has directed to the Lutheran Church from eminent Christian thinkers and leaders of other denominations. These have now for the first time awakened to the fact that the Lutheran Church has an historical service. And this knowledge has wonderfully increased their respect for the Lutheran Church and their belief that she will have an important part to play in deciding the church of the future. Thus said Dr. Warren (Dr. Tyng's successor), Episcopalian, to the writer: "This service has a great advantage over ours in that it gives the sermon the central place." Wrote Dr. McCracken, Presbyterian (Chancellor of the University of New York), after attending a service, and then taking the book with him to inspect it carefully: "Each examination leads me to say with increased emphasis that the Common Service is more near to an ideal liturgy than any church "book of prayer" now in use. It will be *helpful to many a minister not enrolled in a Lutheran synod.*"

Similarly the liberal and learned Dr. Schaff writes: "I was always in favor of a brief liturgical service and have followed the liturgical revisions of the Lutheran Church with much interest, and *congratulate you on the result.* I was much pleased with the Common Service, and will drop in again." Dr. Deems, Methodist, writes in the same manner. And recently Dr. Lyman Abbot, successor of Henry Ward Beecher, and editor of the *Christian Union*, solicited a copy of the Common Service from the writer, saying that he believed it would be an important help for him in framing a contemplated liturgic service for his congregation.

From these and many like instances, it is evident that one year's use of the Common Service in New York City has done more to give the Christian public a definite idea of the Lutheran Church, to effect the recognition of her distinctive character, and to secure a favorable and creditable impression of her moderate liturgic worship, than decades of our past nondescript and indeterminate modes of service. The trial of the Common Service has then been more than a success. It is a success, marked,



exceptional, and noteworthy to an unexpected degree. It has demonstrated the wisdom of the General Synod in framing and authorizing it. It has placed a lever of practical working power in our hands such as we have not had before. It has come, too, at a most opportune time, when liturgic tendencies are growing everywhere, and when fragmentary and individual liturgic forms are being introduced into many congregations to meet the non-liturgic popular demand. At such a juncture a church which can say: "We have a definite historical service; a judiciously ordered worship; in harmony with venerated Christian usage, and used by millions of Christians now," enjoys a wonderful advantage. It is in a position to reap a rich harvest, by being fully abreast of the times.

To us, then, with such a practical test before our eyes, and with such happy results, the storm of opposition raised by those who will not use the Common Service themselves, and, like the dog in the manger, will not suffer any one else to use it, is quite inexplicable.\* The objections that have been advanced—and

\*After this paper had gone to the printer, it occurred to me to ask for the experience of a dozen or so of the more than forty of our pastors whom I personally know to have introduced the Common Service. They have answered with one accord that the result has been "a complete success." They say respectively that a trial of a year or two years "has shown it to be eminently helpful as a means of devotion," that it has caused "a marked improvement in the spirituality of our worship," that as the outcome of our use of the Service, we "must give it our unqualified approval," "the longer we use it, the better we like it, and the more helpful it is—and we use it in full," "my town members, the young people and many of the country people are delighted with it," "it has been a help in our services, improved our congregational singing, and besides giving the people a greater part in the Service it has, I think, given then a different and truer idea of the object of public worship." Such testimonials come from the pastors of three of our most important churches, in Baltimore, from J. C. Koller, D. D., S. A. Holman, D. D., L. E. Albert, D. D., F. P. Manhart, W. S. Freas, S. P. Hughes, J. Zimmerman of Syracuse, N. Y., Edgar G. Miller, Middleburg, N. Y., D. W. Smith, D. D., Mansfield, O., J. H. Harpster, Canton, O., and M. L. Young who serves country churches in Somerset Co., Pa., in which there had previously been no Service used, and who says "the favor with which it was received and continues to be used is a source of much gratification to me."

he has carefully looked at them all—the writer does not deem worthy of serious consideration. Nevertheless, lest they exert an injurious effect, and cause false impressions, they should be briefly met.

And first it may as well be understood that this question is not to be decided by wind and noise. Wordy violence, stormy invectives, loud denunciations, and large boasting, such as we had in the last number of the *QUARTERLY*, and such as are characteristic of every emanation from that source, are utterly unworthy of the subject, of the situation, and of the grave and serious interests involved. Wisdom will not die with any single individual, and when we consider the eminent liturgists of the three great English-speaking bodies, whose patient and self-sacrificing labors and unanimous judgment have given us the Common Service, the common sense of most people will tell them that the alleged rashness, and folly, and stupendous blundering, belong rather to the accuser than to these three eminent committees, every member of which he accuses. And there is another reason why these violent methods are injudicious. The men against whom they are directed are not of a nature to be swerved by them. They have not taken their stand inconsiderately. They know the Lutheran church. And they understand well that they are in sympathetic accord with her spirit. They recognize her genius as she calls to them from the heights of the past and present. They know what she has suffered a thousand times hitherto from false friends. They see where her colors are flying, and neither misrepresentation, nor threats, nor abuse, shall drive them from their fidelity to her. They perceive full well that in the Common Service she has flung her grand old banner to the breeze, and with her they mean to stand or fall. Nothing then is to be gained by these reckless charges and arrogant methods, which assume that our clergy can be hoodwinked by the "claiming everything" of politicians, and which but expose our church to the ridicule of others. Hence these harsh measures might just as well be abandoned.

The first argument usually advanced against the Common Service is that we do not need it, that in fact it is undesirable, that it is a mere sentiment, that uniformity is rather injurious than other-

wise, that it is opposed to spirituality, and that a common service would make us a dead church. But if this were true it would hold just as well against the use of the old Order. Its usage caused a uniformity of worship just as this does. The only difference in the Common Service is that it widens the application of the principle of uniformity to the other general bodies—that is all. Besides, if uniformity in Christian worship is undesirable, then the first thing we have to do is to get rid of the Creed, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Gloria Patri. They are our most conspicuous illustrations of uniformity, and they are in the old Service as well as the new, and they are in the services of the non-Lutheran denominations too. Away then with them, they are the very Magna Charta of this deadly uniformity, and they must first of all be stricken down. This illustration is quite sufficient to expose the utter irrationality of this cry against uniformity. When I sing the "Rock of Ages," or say "The Lord's Prayer," does it kill or fan my devotion to know that other Christians are singing or praying the same words? Besides, if uniformity be undesirable, what right has our General Synod to have kept on promoting it ever since its origin? Why not stop issuing hymn and service books, and advise the congregations all to have independent services, lest they fall into this deadly snare of uniformity. If uniformity be a dangerous thing, then the less of it the better, but if it be a good thing, the more of it the better. We all want unity, why not then have uniformity? If we have the same faith, is it harmful to use the same words? St. Paul did not think so. He charged: "Now I beseech you brethren, by the the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all *speak the same thing*, and that there be no divisions among you: but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment," (1 Cor. 1 : 10). Here, the apostle even makes uniformity of words—"that ye all speak the same thing," precede unity of spirit—"that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind." And what said our great founder, Luther: "It would be beautiful and admirable, if in every territory, *the order of service would be the same*, and the surrounding towns and villages would follow the same." (German Mass 1526). And what thought the wise organizer and leader, whose administra-

tive genius first gave us a historic beginning in this country, Muhlenberg? Says this far seeing patriarch: "It would be a most desirable and advantageous thing if all the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in the North American States were united with one another, and if they all used the same order of service and the same hymn book." (Letter, Nov. 5th, 1783). And it was the recognition of the great importance of uniformity of worship to a denomination, which led our pious fathers in the first synodical convention held in America, A. D. 1748, amid the trying circumstances of their situation, to adopt tentatively an order of service which all agree "to use with a view of introducing into our congregations the same ceremonies, forms and words." ("Lutherans in America," pp. 258, 520).

And what has our own General Synod said as to this desirability? When the idea was first officially presented to her notice at Springfield, in 1883, just one century after the patriarch Muhlenberg had uttered this fervent wish, she took the following action: "that we hail as one of the most auspicious outlooks of our church in America *the prospect of securing a common service for all English-speaking Lutherans.*" Not only was this action taken unanimously, but, at the suggestion, as the writer remembers, of the venerable Dr. Morris who was in the chair, it was adopted by a rising vote. Yet now, those opposed to the Common Service see fit to close their eyes to all these significant facts, and either to indulge in sarcasm at this sentimental dream of a few visionaries, or to pretend that dire evils lurk under this spectre of uniformity. But Paul, Luther, Muhlenberg, and the General Synod, were right. A uniform order of service is not a sentiment, but a decidedly practical thing. Nothing gives greater power to a denomination than a common worship. It lets people know who and what you are. It is a tie that draws your members together, and holds them true into whatever locality they may remove. The sons and daughters learn to love it, and it becomes a dear bond to mother church. Her own faith and church life, too, are poured into that service, and thence into the spiritual fibre of those who use it.

It was the practical aspect of the case that led the writer to offer the original resolution proposing a common service in, the General

Synod South, at Staunton in 1876. He was then pastor at Savannah, Ga. Many Lutheran travelers visiting the South, came to worship. Some would have the General Synod book, and some the General Council book, but none had the right book. Both in service and in hymns they were totally dissimilar. These laymen and women universally expressed regret at this state of affairs. "We might just as well have left our books at home," they would say. "Why don't we when we are all Lutherans have a Lutheran hymn and service book that we can use in any Lutheran church?" And was this not natural,—rational, the dictum of common sense? A few weeks ago, a General Council pastor at Utica, N. Y., learning that a family of his had moved in our immediate neighborhood, fraternally dismissed them to St. James, and wrote me a letter to that effect. Calling on them, they brought out three new and costly copies of the General Council Church Book. [The Council's edition of the Common Service is just about issuing from the press.] How pleasant it was to tell them that they could not use them, but must discard their accustomed service and hymns, and provide themselves with others totally new to them! I can imagine however, how an opponent of the Common Service would have enjoyed this situation. To him it would have been a powerful illustration of the danger and "peril" of uniformity. The issue of three books by the General Synod, which is said to have been mooted by some one, was doubtless intended for sarcasm. A hundred years since Muhlenberg's suggestion, this unhappy state of affairs has continued. And it is neither creditable to the Christian character, or the practical judgment of our General Bodies that it has not been remedied. It is high time to put aside this partisan feeling and narrow prejudice, and for the fellowship of Lutheran worshippers, and the welfare and progress of our beloved church, to agree upon a common Lutheran service, and hymn book as well, as Dr. Butler proposed when the Church Book first appeared. And now, just when this deeply felt want is at the point of being realized, comes this bitter opposition, this sounding of past party slogans, this old spirit of strife, dissension, and liturgical anarchy. Verily, a solemn responsibility are those taking upon themselves, who would inflict this deadly

blow upon the church and by it retard her progress another half century, until all hope of leadership in this country is gone.\*

Another objection adduced against the Common Service is that it is a menace to our Christian liberty. This is the argument that is most loudly and vehemently appealed to. In protest against this pretended peril, writers work themselves up to every degree of fury. The Confessions and history are appealed to to show that the General Synod in providing the Common Service has violated the principles of Lutheran liberty, and justifies revolutionary resorts against her authority. That is simply what this outcry about endangered liberty amounts to, and nothing less. The unfairness in quoting the Confessions on this point, and that on the part of eminent theologians, is something amazing. They only quote those parts which declare the one and manifest side of the truth that uniform rites are not *necessary*, and that where held to be so as a matter of *conscience*, they interfere with Christian freedom. This is all they teach on that side, and as not a soul has ever thought of disputing this, why raise an outcry about it? But the other side of the truth viz., that uniform ceremonies are highly advantageous and desirable as promoting order and fellowship of worship in the church, the Confessions just as sharply emphasize. Thus, Article XV., *Augsburg Confession*, enjoins: "Concerning ecclesiastical rites our churches teach that those rites ARE TO BE OBSERVED, which

\*Before the present controversy had arisen, Dr. J. G. Butler of Washington thus strongly and sincerely appealed for a convention to bring about liturgical agreement: "Now we have neither unity nor uniformity, and are lax in the extreme, embracing the extremes of formalism and fanaticism. \* \* \* Greater *uniformity* in our church services would conduce greatly to the outer and inner *unity* of the church, in which there is now too much that is loose, and in many cases, even disorderly. \* \* \* This *uniformity* secured in our churches, the doctors might wage their polemics with a fury increasing with years." When a writer who in his dispassionate judgment has thus urged a common service, and deprecated polemical assaults on it, and then when it appears after the lapse of a quarter century, makes his pen an incessant and violent polemic against it, I submit that he is his own judge and executioner, and should be glad to take a quiet position in the rear.

may be observed without sin, and are PROFITABLE FOR TRANQUILITY AND GOOD ORDER IN THE CHURCH." Art. XXVI.: "Yet most of the traditions are observed among us that *things may be done orderly* in the Church, as viz., the order of lessons," &c. And in the conclusion: "Among us, in large part, the ancient rites are diligently observed. For it is a CALUMNIOUS FALSEHOOD, that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old are abolished in our churches." *Apology*, chap. IV.: "It is pleasing to us that, FOR THE SAKE OF UNITY AND GOOD ORDER, UNIVERSAL RITES BE OBSERVED." Have not the anti-common service theologians read these strong confessional presentations in favor of retaining ancient and what the *Apology*, chap. IV., calls "UNIVERSAL rites for the sake of unity and good order?" And if they have read them, how can they in an alleged discussion of the whole question utterly ignore and never once mention them? What our Confessions then teach is, that to ordain certain liturgic forms as necessary to salvation or as meritorious works is Romanistic and tyrannous, but that it is a "calumnious falsehood" to say that they teach that, where rightly understood, pure and venerable liturgic forms should not be universally used among Christians. And such forms they furthermore say "are to be observed" as preventing distraction and as "profitable for tranquility and good order in the church." Now, as this is the only ground on which any one has ever advocated the Common Service, viz., not as necessary, but as promoting good order, unity, and Christian fellowship, *i. e.* on the ground of *expediency*, our position is strictly within the lines of our Confessions, identical with them, while that of our opponents is entirely outside of them, directly opposed to them. But let us look to Luther, the great champion of liberty. He says: (German Mass, 1526) "This order has been issued because there is a general demand for a German Order of service, and much offense on account of the various forms of new masses, each one forming his own, though as a matter of *conscience* toward God, this outward Order is of very little account, still *under the law of charity*, as St. Paul teacheth, we ought as far as possible to have *the same outward forms*." Again: "I beg that this form be used in a certain prescribed set of words, that not one man should have it one way to-day, and



another to-morrow. Here it is necessary TO CURB OUR LIBERTY!" Now what is Luther here doing except arguing for our Common Service and showing that the protest against it in the name of liberty, is simply a plea for a license that would produce universal dissimilarity, confusion and distraction in worship! But these objections are absolutely annihilated by the very constitution of the General Synod. Art. IV., says: "The General Synod shall be charged with the duty of providing the books to be used in the public worship of the church, such as Liturgies, Hymn Books, etc., and no district synod SHALL PUBLISH OR RECOMMEND books of this kind other than those furnished by the General Synod." Here it is as clear as the light of the sun that every district synod even, and much more every individual congregation, for the sake of order and uniformity has surrendered to the General Synod its liberty with regard to the preparation of liturgical forms, prayers, and hymns of public worship. How absurd, therefore, to contend that that is an invasion of liberty and congregational rights, which is enjoined upon the General Synod, in her organic law, as her solemn duty! Our public worship is to be regulated by the General Synod, and it was never designed that she should issue two, three, four, or fourteen hundred and fifty diverse books for each congregation's taste; but one and the same book for all. If issuing the Common Service is a violation of liberty then the General Synod was guilty of it with the Old Order. Nay her whole history has been one of tyranny, for she has repeated, time and again, her testimony that "uniformity in public worship is highly desirable."

But the reply may be made, we do not object to the General Synod authorizing the service, but you have invaded our liberty in defending that service. This is the gist of nearly all that is written lately. We answer: when the General Synod,—our supreme ecclesiastical body,—had solemnly issued the Common Service, and when attacks, invectives, and scorn, were at once poured upon it in the most wanton and violent manner, it became our imperative duty as loyal sons to defend her action, and *never has there been one line written except in answer to these attacks.* But on the contrary, it is the *liberty of the friends of the Common Service that has been most wantonly invaded.* We

have not for one moment been permitted to use our General Synod's service in peace and quietness. All that we have done is simply to use it ourselves, without even making a suggestion to those using the old order. For this, we have been subjected to a continual deluge, of hard names as "extremists," "medievalists," "Romanists," and tyrants hanging "yokes" and forging "fettters" for our brethren. Worse still, the church papers have been used to detract the service and prejudice our laity, or if possible hurl firebrands among our congregations. "Open letters" have been scattered; political slates made up to elect packed delegations to General Synod; letters written to incite schemes of opposition among the members of district synods; threats used as to loss of place in the church, etc., etc. Of all these the individual proof is in hand, and the recklessness it evinces causes one to blush that such things can be possible in the Lutheran Church. In the face of such persistent persecution, the outcry of invaded liberty from the other side sounds like a hollow mockery.\*

Again it is charged that the Common Service is too elaborate, complex, lengthy, and a liturgical extreme. A great parade is made of its many parts, Latin names, etc. The best reply to these utterly unfounded charges is the practical use of the service. In practice it takes my congregation, singing all the responses, which could be more briefly said, just *nine minutes* to get through the entire liturgical part up to the hymn before the sermon, which embraces almost all that is liturgical in the morning service. The Episcopal service, Dr. Arthur Brooks, an extreme low churchman, assures me takes *sixty minutes* up to the Sermon. Giving a half hour for the sermon, and five minutes for the General Prayer, the universal expression of our people is that were the Common Service a line shorter, our whole service would be inadequately brief. Taking this service before a number of leading ministers of non-liturgical denominations, and reading a

---

\*It is noteworthy that all the opposition to the Common Service has come either from Professors without congregations, or from Pastors who have never tried it, most of whom have never used any service, and never expect to use any, whatever its merits, being opposed to all liturgies.

paper on it, while each had a copy, their universal opinion was that the only objection that might arise to it was that it was *too brief, that there should be a wider range of special prayers*. But its absolute simplicity and direct straightforwardness of movement were admitted without a dissenting voice. And the writer had too much respect for his church to state that a professed liturgist in it declared it to be "the extremest plane of liturgism known to Protestant Christianity."

As to the Latin names in the service, I have never noticed them myself in rendering it nor has one of my people ever alluded to them, and on this moment taking up the book to find them, I see that they are so trivial, and inconspicuous, with their meanings clearly implied, or at once following them, that they are altogether unworthy of mention.

So simple is the service, each part proceeding in direct succession, that after having had but two sparsely attended meetings to learn the morning service, we introduced the evening service without any preparation whatever. Three weeks after its introduction a touching illustration of its simplicity and yet fullness occurred. Calling on two servant girls whom I had confirmed I found they both had copies of the Common Service. I asked them if they had any difficulty in turning back,—the only place where it occurs—to find the Introit and Collect for the day. Their answer was one that goes to the heart. "None whatever, we learned it at once, and now we are so glad, for our mistress takes us to the Adirondacks, and as we cannot get to church, we will every Sunday morning go through the service, read the lessons and prayers, and have a worship to ourselves." Here is a lesson for learned Professors to cogitate, who with a table full of lexicons and encyclopedias groan that they cannot find their way through the labyrinthine mazes of this extreme and elaborate service.

The fact is, it is not true, but it is a libel on our intelligent and pious laity to say that they do not want and will not have this service. If this be so, why all this hysterical alarm on the part of those opposing it? No, it is the *ministers* who are arousing opposition and seeking to prejudice the laity against it by every means in their power. I will take this service to the humblest

congregation in the Lutheran Church, *where no mischief-maker has been at work*, and introduce it and have it in a few weeks so popular and so entwined in the affections, that no power can thereafter displace it. The laity were weary of our suicidal diversities, they wanted to draw together with one mind and voice, they felt the need of the prevalence of common sense in our discrepant General bodies having at last a Common Service for Lutherans. And, after the solemn and unanimous action of three successive General Synods, had each minister made a simple statement of the facts of the case, saying that the advisory power of the General Synod should be respected here just as in the apportionment system, or it might as well be disbanded, there is not a congregation in the land that would not have said: "Let us give it a fair trial." Aye! but that is just what its opponents are afraid of. And so, the laity must needs be so prejudiced against it as a Pandora's box of all evils, that they will not touch it, lest trying it, and finding it good and blessed for their devotional use, they would not let it go.

Again, it is charged that the Common Service is a relic of mediævalism, a slavish transfer of the worship of the sixteenth century. It is said: This is the nineteenth century, and we want a worship adapted to our modern time. But here we at once find the opponents of the Common Service hopelessly divided against themselves. For another wing replies: Our objection is just the reverse, viz., that *it does not conform exactly to the sixteenth century*. This it did as adopted at Harrisburg. But the three joint committees made certain minor additions thereafter, and to these we are opposed, tooth and nail. We reply: These additions are only a few lines, some fifty words, quoted literally from the Holy Scriptures, requiring but a half minute to say them, and unquestionably improving the service. The answer comes: That doesn't matter at all. They don't belong to the standard usage of the sixteenth century, that is enough, we want no nineteenth century service. As then, one party cries: "Away with it, it is of the sixteenth century," and the other replies: "Away with it, it is not of the sixteenth century," one completely annihilates the other. Consequently, we need here make no further reply. "A house divided

against itself cannot stand." Squarely contradicting each other in their opposition, they may indeed combine for the destruction of the service, but their mutual contradictions also show the hopelessness of these parties ever giving us anything in place of it. It is proper, also, to suggest to the practical sense of the reader, that if the Common Service as adopted at Harrisburg (as we are now told) was a brief, simple, Protestant, and Lutheran service, that the addition of a few choice Scripture lines, said almost in a breath, could transform it into an elaborate, complex, Romish, and un-Lutheran service is as patent an absurdity as ever was uttered in human speech. Those who regard the Common Service as it now is, "with disgust and aversion," as a "yoke of mediævalism," and as a "menace to our liberties," are not going to regard it an angel of blessing when shorn of these brief little additions taken from the Bible. Yet the two professors who have written most against it say this is all they ask. It will take a far more radical surgical process than this to get the cloven hoofs and horns out of it. If these revisers could ever agree among themselves, which we do not believe, what kind of a service would they give us, especially as one of them writes to the *Independent* that the great majority of them are opposed to any service whatever.

But again, it is objected: The Common Service was meant to bring about unity, but it has only caused contention and strife. But the introduction of Christianity caused strife, persecution, and set child against parent and brother against brother. Did that prove that it was not the religion of peace? Was it the Gospel's fault, or the infirmities and misdeeds of men? It was sought to crush Luther by this same cry: Your cause begets strife and foment trouble. "Peace, Peace," cried the Papal Legate and Erasmus. How memorable was Luther's answer: "I rejoice exceedingly to see the Gospel this day, as of old, a cause of disturbance and disagreement. It is the character and destiny of God's word." Luther and the Reformation were not the cause, but the innocent and righteous occasion of the conflicts of that period of battle. But the real cause was those who needlessly stirred up the strife. And when the atmosphere cleared, the Church was incalculably the gainer.

Just so now, the Common Service has indeed been made the excuse and *occasion*, but it is not the cause of all this contention. It is itself a scriptural and Lutheran treasure, hallowed by the use of the saints in all ages, a priceless means of spiritual worship. Had it been met with but a show of courtesy, had it been accorded a respectful trial, and allowed to stand upon its own merits, there would have been no trouble. The sole cause of any existing strife and contention rests with its assailants. Whatever disturbance they are making is all that exists—there is none other. If they will but let us who use it alone, as we do them, there will be a peace as great as when Christ stilled the tempest. But whatever strife the bitterness and injustice of or some may foment, when the storm is over the Common Service will be found to be worth all it has cost the Church. For the increased order, edification and efficiency which it will give to worship in our thousands of English Lutheran congregations for coming centuries; the healing influence which such a common worship will have on our unhappy divisions; and the respect which such a definite and known Lutheran service will gain for us among sister denominations, will make the Common Service worth an hundred fold more than all the heartburnings and sacrifices it has cost its friends; and its adoption an epoch of our church progress, for which its present opponents will be no less thankful than ourselves.

A significant word in conclusion. The General Synod is *obliged to keep good faith with individual synods and congregations.\** For a number of years the General Synod announced

\*It is important to remember, too, that notwithstanding all the clamor which a few men have raised against it, the introduction of the Common service has proceeded much more rapidly than that of the old Order. Two years after the issue of the latter the Publishing Committee reported that they had issued an edition of 3,220 copies, "but only a very small portion of our General Synod churches in comparison with the whole have introduced the new book, and from all parts of the Church, owing to the predilection of pastors and members, a demand has been made for an edition of the hymn book, pure and simple." Two years after the first appearance of the Common Service 5,000 copies had been sold, and including the Books of Worship containing it the number exceeded 12,000. These are official figures which any one can easily verify.

that a common service was preparing, which was purely Lutheran, and which it was desirous that its congregations should freely adopt. The pastors and congregations believed and trusted the General Synod. They were not liturgical specialists themselves, but felt assured that the General Synod, acting with the other two great general Lutheran bodies, would make no mistake. When then the Common Service came, a number of the congregations, and these among the leading and influential in the Church, put away the service they were using and adopted it. The people were willing, because they respected the authority of their supreme church tribunal, and also because they were assured that a service, so widely authorized, and resting upon such a sound historical basis, would be likely to last. Tinkering and change with their public services would come to an end. They would have a service and a Book of Worship that they could transmit to their children. Now the General Synod has a plighted faith with these congregations. Dr. F. W. Conrad voiced this truth at Allegheny when he said: "The congregations using the Common Service are acting in good faith under the General Synod's authority, and they are to be undisturbed." But individuals are making strenuous efforts to induce the General Synod to violate its faith with these congregations. Now these congregations say to these agitators: "Why did you sit still in the General Synod all the years the Common Service was being prepared, and published, and utter not a word of protest, yea! even openly or tacitly endorse it? You are now too late. We have adopted the service and must be let alone." This is the just position of these congregations, and upon it they mean to stand. Should these agitators succeed in their plans, by might of circulars, slates, craft, and otherwise, and induce the General Synod to break its faith with these congregations, and undertake to mutilate the Common Service, and interfere with their present peaceful worship, there will be serious business ahead.

The writer questions neither the piety nor Lutheranism of any one who prefers not to use the Common Service. Such are perfectly free to use any meagre part of it, or the Old Order altogether. All that he asks, in the name of justice and



peace, is freedom for himself and others to use the Common Service, as they may prefer. And he asks the temperate opponents of the Common Service, to say to its intemperate and reckless enemies: "Pause, you have reached the Rubicon!"

---

As the discussion of the Common Service has brought to the surface in the General Synod many old elements of anti-liturgic hostility and as it has been sought to make it appear, that liturgic forms are opposed to spirituality—a position of self-stultification for the witness-bearers in a confessedly liturgic church—I append as *a propos*, a letter given me for that purpose by REV. M. W. HAMMA, D. D. It well shows how travel, observation, and culture, enlarge and correct our views. And it reveals to us a leading cause of the antagonism to the very moderate liturgical form of the Common Service, viz., crudeness, narrowness, prejudice. As, step by step we all are overcoming these, the

"Ragged rims of thunder brooding low,"

will break away, and light will pierce the storm cloud of opposition. DR. HAMMA has been spending many months as a close and thoughtful observer of Lutheranism and religious life in Scandinavia, and his words have great weight in the present struggle to make our church liturgic here in keeping with her universal historical character. He says:

"There was nothing that we saw in Scandinavia that interested us more than the church and the religious life of the people. It is said in America by those who try to justify their own scheme of sectarian proselyting, that the state church in Scandinavia is so dead in "formalism" and indifference that true religion is at the lowest ebb. This has been so often and confidently affirmed by certain self-righteous religionists among us that some were inclined to believe it. But in looking into the question for ourselves, we were greatly gratified at what we learned and saw. Instead of finding a dead church and a people so far without religion that they need foreign missionaries sent among them, we found a state of things at which the philanthropist and sincere Christian might well rejoice.

Of course, everything in this world is only comparative. Nothing here among men is absolutely perfect.

While the system of a state religion has its objections, here in Scandinavia as elsewhere, nevertheless, in most respects, I believe it will compare very favorably with the church of any other country. To the casual observer almost everything may appear as mere "formalism."

The buildings which are simply the old Roman churches, turned into the Lutheran in the days of the Reformation, with very little change, the altars, baptismal fonts, pulpits, etc., remaining about the same, might be mistaken for Catholic churches, at sight. The dress of the ministers, especially on communion and festival days, generally seems very similar to that of the catholic priest.

The liturgy is full and imposing, though not of undue length. The whole service seems wrought out in set forms from beginning to end. In other words, here we find universally prevalent a very "High Church Lutheranism" which many of us in America have been educated to regard as "Ritualism"—mere dead "Formalism." One's prejudices instilled by early education die very hard and possibly never pass *entirely* away, even though we may think they have.

Be that as it may, I must confess that this very "*High Church Lutheranism*," with its *high* "Ritual," with its apparent "Formalism," throughout has produced the highest expression of applied Christianity among the Norwegians; the world has yet seen.

We have traveled more or less extensively in every Christian country in existence and can conscientiously say that we have never seen the religion of Christ so highly and generally exemplified as by the people of Norway. And the same may be said in almost equal measure of the whole Scandinavian race. "But," says some one, "are these people really a *spiritual* people?" That question has been answered already in the foregoing. "Ye shall know them by their fruits." Could an unspiritual religion produce such fruits? "Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?"

We found the pastors as a rule to be the most godly, conse-

crated and self-sacrificing men, and their congregations made up of as earnest and devout worshipers as can be found anywhere, indeed far exceeding in their reverence for sacred things some of those who send missionaries among them.

I am thoroughly convinced that an apparently ritualistic system of worship, even like this, is not necessarily opposed to the development of a true spirituality among a people. There the system has had a most thorough trial for 350 years, and the results if they prove anything, prove that it most likely promotes the highest gospel graces in heart and life, for here we find the highest type of Christian nation in the world."

---

Just before going to press there came unsolicited into the writer's hands two communications giving the testimony of men from other Communion, whose estimate of the Common Service is not affected by any personal or partisan bias. An extract from a letter written by Rev. A. H. Studebaker, Baltimore, March 12th, says:

"The other Sabbath a Methodist Doctor of Divinity from Brooklyn was introduced to me at the close of one of our services. After some pleasant remarks of a personal character he said, 'I must tell you how delighted I have been with your service. What is it? Where did you get it? Tell me about it. As a Methodist I am not particularly a friend to a set service, but I am compelled to say that this was one of the most devotional, Scriptural, and every way helpful services in which I have ever engaged. For anyone desiring a form of worship, this seems to me to be the ideal.'"

The other is the *New York Observer* of March 19th, that staunch Presbyterian journal which has for half a century stood at the head of the American religious press. In a long editorial on Lutheran Public Worship it says:

"American Christians in general do not realize that the Lutherans form one of the largest and most influential communions in this country and in the world. In the United States their numbers are surpassed by only three or four of the greatest denominations. Throughout the world they are estimated at

over fifty millions. By far the most impressive liturgical services we have ever attended were in European Lutheran churches, where the clergyman led the vast congregation with intelligence, spirit and power, he and they joining in the singing with remarkable harmony and enthusiasm.

By the joint action of the three general bodies with which most of the Lutheran congregations using the English language in public worship are connected, a common service has recently been prepared and published. It is not a new service, but a *consensus* of the Lutheran liturgies which were used in the early years of the Reformation. Its character is thus indicated in an instructive preface: "The Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century were not new and original works, erected by the Reformers, but they were chiefly revisions of the services of the Latin Church, with some additions, *all, however, in the language of the people*. The sermon has a greatly increased importance and the purity of doctrine is most carefully guarded; church song takes a new flight; an addition is made here and there, as of the general prayer, the exhortation to communicants, or some other new feature; but the whole outline and structure of the service of the Western church for a thousand years before the Reformation is preserved. Whatever seemed to the Reformers to be contrary to the pure teaching of Holy Scripture, was removed; whatever was pure and Scriptural was retained in the old order of parts, and thus the continuous succession of pure service was unbroken." In a succeeding paragraph Dr. Schmucker gives the historical facts which explain the close agreement between the first Prayer-Book of the Church of England and this Lutheran common service which "has given expression to the devotions of countless millions of believers throughout many generations. It can lay claim, as no other order of service now in use can, to be the common service of the Christian Church in all ages. It can reasonably be tendered to all Protestants who use a fixed order, as the service of the future, as it is of the past." This Lutheran Service-Book differs from the modern Episcopal Prayer-Book in several important particulars. It places the sermon at the centre of the service instead of at the end, where it is usually in non-liturgical as well

as in other churches. It is also much shorter than the ordinary liturgical services of Protestant churches, occupying scarcely fifteen minutes before the sermon, including two Scriptural lessons and a hymn; and about ten minutes after the sermon, to which is allotted a half hour. This is in full accord with the spirit of the Reformation, which exalts the office of instruction in public worship. Without the full shining of the Word, devotion degenerates into superstition, or formalism, or both. This Lutheran service is also extremely simple in its arrangement. It reads without any break, except in changing the Introits and Collects for every Sunday, the worshiper turns to where they are all massed in succession for the entire year. This makes the service easily followed, even by strangers to this form of worship.

"To many devout persons this Service-Book will be chiefly interesting and acceptable because of its scriptural character, a large part of its phraseology being in the language of sacred writ, the Psalms and Lessons being given in the incomparable English of the Version which has been more widely read than any other words that were ever written. As this book of worship is used largely in other tongues in many different countries, it is doubtless more universal than any other. As the form of worship in which millions of evangelical believers unite in drawing near to God, it commands our reverent regard.

"Perhaps the most remarkable thing about this service is that it is not commanded but commended to the use of the churches for which it was provided. So careful are the Lutherans of the liberty of the people in matters of worship, that they maintain the principles embodied in the Augsburg Confession, namely, that unity of doctrine and the administration of the sacraments are sufficient for true unity of the Church, that differences in rites and ceremonies are not injurious to this unity, that ordinances of men ought not to be forced on the congregations. At the same time it is believed that harmony and edification are secured by pure and holy worship that is common and universal. Consequently this common service for English-speaking Lutherans has been prepared by the General Bodies of the Church, and is commended to all their congregations with the hope and prayer that it may voice a still greater volume of evangelical worship.

## ARTICLE VII.

## THE LUTHERAN SOURCES OF THE COMMON SERVICE.

By EDWARD T. HORN, D. D., Charleston, S. C.

The object of these pages is to exhibit the Lutheran sources of the Common Service. The libraries at Philadelphia and Gettysburg can furnish much additional matter, for I am compelled to depend on my own meagre collection and notes; but they will only confirm and reënforce my positions. Let me ask those who have an interest in the subject to patiently read a few dry pages, in order that they may see how completely the *Common Service* sets forth "the common consent of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the Sixteenth Century, and when there is not entire agreement among them, the consent of the largest number of those of greatest weight."

I am concerned, however, lest any one should think its fidelity to the Lutheran type the only basis of the *Common Service*. Its foundation is deeper, wider and older; its claim is varied; its authority unimpeachable; but this paper is no more than an exhibition of some of the proof that the *Common Service* is a reproduction in English of "the old Lutheran Service, prepared by the men whom God raised up to reform the Service, as well as the doctrine and life, of the Church, and whom he plenteously endowed with the gifts of the Holy Ghost." I speak confidently: yet add, as it becomes us all to add, the words with which Cardinal Newman's brethren in the Oratory at Birmingham are said to conclude every remark, "But I speak under correction."

The *Common Service* is not the transcript of any Lutheran Service of the Sixteenth Century. The Orders from which it is derived afford precedents for many things, which it does not adopt. While it exhibits the *consensus* of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of that age, in strict accordance with the spirit of Christianity embodied in our Confessions it freely rejects what was temporary and adapts the whole to this new age.

## I.

The Orders of the Sixteenth Century recognize that we can make no Service binding on the congregation, and that no part of a Service should be used any longer than it serves to edification. These principles they establish and enforce. In accordance with all the authorities, therefore, these principles are announced in the *Preface* of the book as part of the Service itself.

Again, it soon became the custom in the Reformation to allow in villages and country places a simpler service than that which the larger cities and towns were able to maintain. In this German versifications were substituted for the older prose texts which a trained choir was needed to render, and some of the parts of the service were omitted. Different Orders also substituted alternate forms for some of the parts of the service. The *Common Service* recognizes this custom and principle, 1. by stating "the entire conformity with good Lutheran usage" of such a simpler service; 2. by permission of alternate forms; and 3. by providing not the *minimum* of Lutheran service, but *the full Lutheran service with all its provisions* for all who wish to use it. We need no citations to prove that this is in accord with all the Lutheran Liturgies of greatest weight and with the sound Scriptural principles they urge.

## II.

Having ascertained and observed the general principles which characterize every pure Lutheran Church Order, we next come to the question, What are the constituent parts of the normal Lutheran Service, and in what order should they appear? To answer this, we should know the parts and order of the Service before the Reformation, and the manner in which the typical Lutheran Orders dealt with them. As to the old Service, I shall take the liberty of referring my readers to my *Liturgies*, especially on pp. 117ss. As to Lutheran usage, we must first of all decide which are the typical or pure Liturgies, and then discover whether they do present one type of Service, and afford a *consensus* from which the "old Lutheran Service" may be reproduced.

It is wrong to suppose that it is necessary to examine and put



on record the dictum of every one of the Church Orders of the Sixteenth Century. What this would amount to, I shall show further on, when we come to the question of the position of the Lord's Prayer in the Holy Supper. To throw light on the subject I have prepared a little chart which shows at a glance the relations of the principal and typical Lutheran Liturgies of that age to one another. It is based on the list given by Richter (*Ev. Kirchenordnungen des xvi. Jahrh.* II. 509ss.), and my own careful examination. It does not claim to be infallible; here also I speak under correction; but I think it pretty faithfully sets forth the case. It does not include all Lutheran Orders, nor even all which belong to this type, but it is enough. It arranges these Orders on the basis of their *liturgical* relationship. Thus an order may derive its ecclesiastical constitution from one source, but its arrangement of the Service from another; my table would show simply its dependence on the latter. The table asserts the practical derivation of the Liturgical reformation from Luther's *v. Ordnung des Gottesdiensts* and *Formula Missæ* of 1523, which his *German Mass* of 1526 was a tentative effort to carry into effect in the German tongue. A glance at the table shows the central importance of the Saxon group, including *Mecklenburg* 1552 repeated in *Wittenberg* 1557 and 1559. Hardly less important is what I am accustomed to call Bugenhagen's group, headed by *Brunswick* 1528, which, with *Hamburg* 1539 and *Pommern* 1535 (which Richter calls the living picture of the Reformation in North Germany), I shall often refer to. The lines show how the Saxon influence (especially of the typical *Saxon* (Duke Henry) of 1539, was sought and felt in all later orders. The Prussian series (except 1557), while obedient to the general type, have a character of their own. On the other side of the page, *Brandenburg-Nürnberg* 1533 has originality. Through *Mecklenburg* 1540 (a transcript of it) it mingles with the *Saxon* 1539 in the Mecklenburg-Wittenberg group. Lines show other tendencies than those of the *Formula Missæ* entering into *Schwäbisch-Hall* 1543 and *Cassel* 1539, to be perpetuated in the latter case in *Edward VI.* 1549, and to appear in *Austria* 1571.

A subdivision would be made among these Orders by a strict

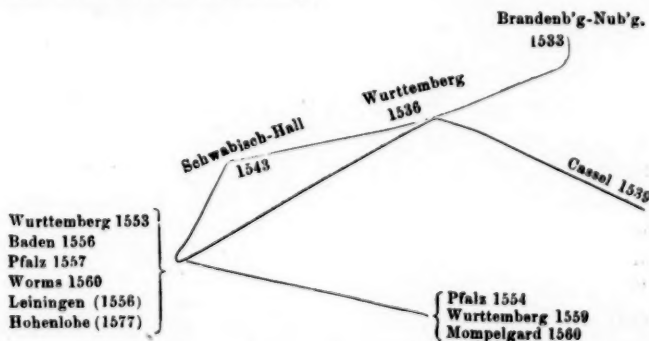


historian. *Brandenburg* 1540, *Pfalz-Neuberg* and *Austria* 1571 retain more of the old Service than the other groups do, though conforming to the general type; and are by some called "Romanizing." In some features, however, these go further than the Saxon group, *e. g.* the *Pfalz-Neuberg* 1543 omits the traditional Gospels and Epistles, after the example of *Brandenburg-Nürnberg* 1533.

Again, the *Reformation of Cologne* 1543, cannot be appealed to with the same confidence we accord to the Saxon liturgies, because of un-Lutheran Protestant elements in it. But it is to be observed that the service of worship it gives does not depart from the Lutheran type, but furnishes much material; and it is especially valuable to us because the dependence upon it of the first Prayerbook of *Edward VI.* 1549 (whose place among Lutheran liturgies is shown in our chart) entitles us to free use of the inimitable English translations given in that book.\*

Now, in reference to these Liturgies, it is evident that it is not necessary to cite every one of a group, such as "Bugenhagen's," or the "Saxon," which merely repeat one Service. The *dictum* of a few which all acknowledged as models, outweighs the agreement of many which copy one of them. Those few

\*It will be observed that the Liturgies of S. W. Germany have no place on my chart. On this subject see my *Liturgies* pp. 120, 1, and, besides authorities there cited, Herzog, PRE. VII. 722. The great importance of the Würtemberg Orders is not denied; but they do not follow the Lutheran type of Service. I subjoin a little diagram of mutual relations of Orders of S. W. Germany.



models we call the *Liturgies of greatest weight*. Such are Luther's Orders, the *Brandenburg-Nürnberg* 1533, the *Wittenberg* of 1533, which brought Bugenhagen's influence anew into the Saxon group, *Saxon* 1539, the *Mecklenburg* 1552 as repeated in *Wittenberg* 1559, and Bugenhagen's Orders already referred to. And it is evident that illustration and confirmation may be sought in the other Orders on our list, under the limitations we have indicated.

The first report of the Joint Committee (Phila., May, 1885) promptly adopted by the three General Bodies, gave the parts and order of the Normal Lutheran Service thus:

- I. Introit.
- II. Kyrie.
- III. Gloria in Excelsis.
- IV. Collect.
- V. Epistle.
- VI. Alleluia.
- VII. Gospel.
- VIII. Creed.
- IX. Sermon.
- X. General Prayer.
- XI. Preface.
- XII. Sanctus and Hosanna.
- XIII. Exhortation to Communicants.
- XIV. Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution *or* Words of Institution and Lord's Prayer.
- XV. Agnus Dei.
- XVI. Distribution.
- XVII. Collect of Thanksgiving.
- XVIII. Benediction.

Of these parts the *Formula Missæ* omits X. and XIII., and puts XII. after the Words of Institution and before the Lord's Prayer. The *German Mass* 1526 has all but III., X., XI., XV., putting the *Sanctus* during or after XVI. *Wittenberg* 1533 has all (the *Da Pacem* instead of a lengthy prayer after the Sermon) and transposes the *Sanctus* to the place of the *Agnus Dei*. The *Visitation Articles* 1533 has all but II., VI., XI.; the *Da Pacem* as in foregoing; for VI. "a spiritual song;" and allows

the *Sanctus* instead of XV. *Brunswick* 1528 has all, putting XVI. before XV. and XIII. before XI. *Brandenburg-Nürnberg* 1533 has all but XI., thus: XIII., XIV., XII., XVI., XVII., the *Agnus Dei* during the *Distribution*, and inserts the *Pax* and *Benedicamus*. *Pommern* 1535 has all in order. *Saxon* 1539 has all but X. *Mecklenburg* 1552 has all, putting a Psalm in place of VI. and not prescribing XV. during the *Distribution*.

To these may be added: *Teutsch-Kirchenampt* 1525 has all, putting VIII, IX. and XIII. before XV. The *Prussian Landesordnung*, 1525, has all but the Sermon, and puts XIII. after XIV. *Schwäbisch-Hall*, 1526, omits the Epistle and *Agnus Dei*. *Döber's Mass*, 1525, (in *Schlüter*, 1531) omits IX., X., puts XII. after XIV. and XIII. after XV. *Liegnitz*, 1534, omitting only XV. and putting instead of the Creed a hymn to the Holy Ghost, puts the Lord's Prayer after the Sermon and VIII., XIII. before XI. *Bremen*, 1534, omits XI. and puts the Sermon before the Creed. *Nordheim*, 1539, omits XI and XII. and puts the Creed after X. *Meissen Vis. Artt.*, 1539, omits XI., XII., XV. *Hamburg*, 1539, has all, but puts the Exhortation before the Preface. *Brandenburg*, 1540, omits XIII. *Halle*, 1541, repeats Wittenberg, 1533. *Pommern*, 1542, has all but XV. *Osnabrück*, 1543, puts VIII. after X. and seems to omit XVII. XVIII. *Reformation of Cologne*, 1543, puts VIII. after X. and omits XIII. *Prussia*, 1544, omits XI. *Rützebüttel*, 1544, omits I., XI., XII., XV. and puts *Song* instead of VI. *Schwäbisch-Hall* 1543, omits IX., X., XI. and puts VIII. after XVI., while XII. takes the place of XV. *Pfalz-Neuberg*, 1543, has all. *Stralsund*, 1555, has all but the Exhortation and does not prescribe the *Agnus Dei*. *Edward VI.* 1549, omits VI., XIII., X.

To summarize: the following Orders of those we have instanced, HAVE ALL THE PARTS: *W.*, 1533; *Br.*, 1528; *Pom.*, 1535; (*Saxon*, 1539;) (*Meckl.*, 1552;) *Strassburg Kirchenampt*, 1525; (*Prussia*, 1525;) *Hamburg*, 1539; *Halle*, 1541; (*Pommern*, 1542;) *Pf.-N.*, 1543; (*Stralsund*, 1555).

*Döber's Nürnberg Spitalmesse*, 1525, *BN*, 1533, *Liegnitz*, 1534, *Bremen*, 1534, OMIT ONLY ONE PART.

*Nordheim*, 1534, *B.* 1540, *Ref. Col.* 1543, *Form. Missæ*, 1523, HAVE ALL THE PARTS BUT TWO.

The *Meissen Vis. Artt.*, 1539, *S. H.*, 1526, and *Edward VI.*,  
OMIT ONLY THREE.

But let us more closely examine the omissions that occur. The two omissions of the *Formula Missæ* are the *General Prayer*, and the Exhortation to the communicants; the latter a Lutheran addition to the Service, the former a Lutheran restoration. The *German Mass* also omits the General Prayer; it omits the *Gloria in Excelsis*, for which Luther had not yet German verse (though he might have had prose); puts German song in place of the Alleluia; lets the Exhortation (now freshly invented) take the place of the Preface; and omits the *Agnus Dei*. This is followed by the *Visitation Articles* of 1533, which puts "a spiritual song" instead of the Alleluia and the *Sanctus* for the *Agnus Dei*. *Saxon*, 1539, again omits only the General Prayer.

*Prussia*, 1525, omits only the Sermon, which was new, or just restored to the Service. So does *Döber*, omitting also the General Prayer. *Bremen*, 1534, follows the *German Mass* in substituting the Exhortation for the Preface: so does *Meissen Vis. Artt.*, 1539. The *Ref. of Cologne*, 1543, omits only the Exhortation. *Ritz*, 1544, omits the Introit, Preface and *Sanctus*. *S. H.*, 1543, omits Sermon, General Prayer and Preface. *Pr.*, 1544, again puts the Exhortation instead of the Preface. *Stralsund*, 1555, omits the Exhortation.

The true statement of the case then is: The new elements in the Lutheran Service are 1. the reintroduction of the Sermon, which had fallen out of the Roman Mass, 2. the restoration of the General Prayer, and 3. the insertion of an Exhortation before the Communion.

These are characteristic elements of the Lutheran Service, but the early Orders did not at first know how to assimilate them; some omitting one or the other; some, as *Pr.*, 1525, *S. H.*, 1526 (with implied approval of *F. M.*, 1523) letting the Sermon precede the whole, or as *S. H.*, 1543, letting the Sermon come after the Holy Supper; and others wavering as to whether the Preface and the Exhortation were compatible, the Exhortation being a sort of preface too. The historical significance of the Preface was not immediately seen. On one other point there

was diversity—some kept the *Agnus Dei* as the principal song in the Distribution of the Holy Supper; others thought it enough to require appropriate song; and some preferred another hymn, especially John Huss's *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*. *This explanation covers nearly every variation noted and greatly strengthens the authority for the "Normal Service."*

And now as to the order of the parts of the Service. At first it may seem to the bewildered reader that there is very little agreement among these liturgies. But let him turn back and look again. Of those we have examined, the following preserve the order given above: *Saxon*, 1539, *Meckl.*, 1552, *Pom.*, 1535, *S. H.*, 1526, (*Pom.*, 1542, *Pr.*, 1544, *Pf. N.*, 1543, *Stralsund*, 1555, Edward VI., 1549.) The order is preserved in all cases but one, by *F. M.*, 1523, *G. M.*, 1526, *W.*, 1533, *Vis. Artt.* 1533, *B. N.*, 1533. *Pr.*, 1526, *Bremen*, 1534, *Nord.*, 1539, *B.* 1540, *Halle*, 1541, *Ornabrück*, 1543, *Ref. Col.*, 1543, *Ritzbüttel*, 1544. and *Hamburg*, 1539. It is preserved with two exceptions by *Br.* 1528, *Str. Kamp*, 1525, *Döber*, 1525, *Liegnitz*, 1534, and *S. H.*, 1543.

We submit that any one examining these Orders with the simple purpose to find what the parts of a full Lutheran Service are, would be compelled to admit that every one given in our list belongs to it; and that, in spite of the variations in the order of the parts, the order given in the *Common Service* is established by Lutheran usage as well as by the pre-Reformation Service and sound liturgical principles.

### III.

The Parts of the Service and their order having been ascertained, something remained to be done. Was anything to be added? Was anything to be taken from it? Were the old Orders to be modified in any respect or were they to be taken as they were. It is well-known that they directed the minister to sing the parts which belong to him; at certain points he was bidden turn to the altar and again to turn to the people; Luther retained the *Elevation*\* and so did the Prussian Orders until

\*Done away in Wittenberg *Consistorial-Ordnung*, 1542.



1544. Some Orders began the Service with a Confession of Sins; Some put the *Benedicamus* before the *Benediction*; some inserted *The Peace of the Lord be with you* before the Distribution; and some retained other prayers besides those admitted into our service. It must be observed that the *Common Service* has omitted what was inapplicable or inexpedient; retained what is edifying; and avoided any prescriptions which were not needful to show the right use of the parts of the Service. In the following pages we will show on what authorities the amplifications of the Normal Order rest, and also the sources from which the texts given in the *Common Service* were derived.

As additions, not as integral parts of the historical Service, the Committee proposed (Phila. 1885; *Harrisburg Report*, p. 4) and the General Bodies approved 1. *At the beginning*: a Hymn of Invocation of the Holy Ghost; the words, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and the Confession of Sins. 2. *After the Creed*: the Principal Hymn. And 3. *After the General Prayer*: another Hymn.

As professed additions, considered and approved at that time, these require no Lutheran precedent; but they are not without it. No one will question the propriety of adding *Hymns* to the Order already given, or its entire conformity with good Lutheran usage. It is freely acknowledged that the historical position of the Principal Hymn is *between the Epistle and the Gospel*, and therefore the *Common Service* with its usual accuracy has provided that *instead of the simple Hallelujah, a sentence for the Season of the Church Year may be sung with it; or a Psalm or a Hymn may be sung after the Hallelujah*; but it was thought better not to divide the Lessons, nor to disturb the convenient Hymn before the Sermon, familiar to our people. This takes the place of the *Kanzellied*, sung after the Minister has gone into the pulpit and begun the liturgical introduction of his Sermon. *Liegnitz* 1534, and *Ritzbüttel* 1544, prescribed in this place a *Hymn to the Holy Ghost*. Another Hymn is put after the General Prayer. When there is no Communion it closes the Service; or if there be a Communion, the people sing while the Minister goes to the altar and makes ready for it. The permission to use before the whole Service a Hymn of Invocation

of the Holy Ghost, proper in itself, and accordant with the historical opening of all sorts of Christian Service, indicates what should be the nature of the singing which in many churches precedes the Service. My notes refer to Spangenberg, *Kirchengesaenge* for this. *Austria* 1571 says, "At the beginning of every spiritual office earnest prayer must be offered to God for grace, enlightenment and help, and *Veni Sancte Spiritus* must be sung."

The words, *In the name of, &c.*, occur in this place in the *Strassburg-Erfurt Kirchenampt* of 1525.

It was thought best to retain a *Confession of Sins*. While such a confession does not belong to the Normal Lutheran Service, it has good Lutheran authority. (See my *Liturgics*, pp. 107, 8.)

The question then arises concerning the text adopted by the *Common Service*. The form given in *Meckl.* 1552, *Wittenberg* 1559, traced by Richter to John Riebling 1534, and repeated in *Austria* 1571, is the only one having authority among us. The address (founded on Heb. 10 : 22) and the opening versicle also are from *Meckl.* 1552; the second versicle is from *Döber's N'b'g. Spitalmesse, Strassb'g K'ampt, Cologne* 1543 and *Austria* 1571. The original bids the people to say the confession with the Pastor, but assigns the second part of it to another Minister; and directs that it be said by people and minister kneeling towards the Altar. It is there given in the singular number, *I confess*. It has been adapted to our use by the rubrics, *Kneeling or standing, The congregation shall say with the Minister*, and the use of the plural instead of the singular. The *Declaration of Grace* is found in the same Order.

#### IV.

We now come to the parts of the Service, and will notice as we meet them certain minor additions which (upon good Lutheran authority) were made in the final arrangement of the Service. Such are the collection, the *Pax*, the Words of Dismissal, the *Nunc dimittis*, and the *Benedicamus*.

Those familiar with the Orders will recognize the propriety of

allowing instead of the Introit a Psalm or Hymn. This accords with Lutheran usage, and needs no further note. It will be remarked, however, that while the *Church-Book* prescribed the omission of the *Gloria Patri* in Lent, the *Common Service* has not such a direction. The Roman Missal does indeed omit it from *Judica* Sunday until Easter, and so does the Bamberg Missal, on which so many of our Orders were based; but *Lossius* gives it for Palm Sunday and has no Service for Holy Week; Spangenberg, *Edward VI.* and the Nürnberg *Officium Sacrum* retain the *Gloria Patri*. Therefore the *Common Service* retains it.

The Introits are given in full in *Lossius*,\* Nürnberg *Officium Sacrum*, and in Spangenberg† whenever a full Service is given; and the Bamberg Missal gives those in use before the Reformation, to which our Orders refer. The Biblical sources of the Introits are given in Jacobs: *Lutheran Movement in England*, p. 294. Wherever the Introits as given vary from the texts of the *Church Book* (e. g. Second, Fourth, Seventh and Twentieth Sundays after Trinity) the change is in obedience to the originals. An alternative Introit for Easter is given suggested by Schoeberlein III. 148 and Loche. The 27th after Trinity is based on the Bamberg Missal and *Lossius*. For the *Annunciation*, instead of that given, Bamberg, *Lossius* and Spangenberg gives the Introit for the 4th Sunday in Advent; while N'b'g. *Off. Sac.* gives the Introit for the 1st Sunday in Advent. For the *Visitation*, N'b'g. has the Introit for the 4th in Advent, *Lossius* has the *Gaudeamus*, and Spangenberg has Ps. 106 : 4, 5, 1. The Introit for *Evangelists*, etc., is the Roman for St. Paul's day. *Lossius*, Sp. and N'b'g. have Ps. 139 : 17, 1, 2, but our English version does not agree with the Latin. The Introits are "marked" or "pointed" according to the latest English authority. The arrangement of the Sundays after Trinity

\**Psalmodia, hoc est, Cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta etc., per Lucam Lossium cum praefatione Philippi Melanthonis. Viteb. Rhau 1561.*

†Kirchengesaenge Deutsch auf die Sonntage u. fürnemliche Feste, durchs ganze Jar, etc., 1545.

These books were in the hands of the Sub-Committee.

(differing from the Roman, *after Pentecost*) accords with the Bamberg use, which the Reformers kept.

The *Kyrie* needs no further remark.

Nor does the *Gloria in excelsis*. The rubrical permission to use another Cantic or Hymn except on occasions when a full Service is desirable, accords with Lutheran usage. Many of our sources prescribe the versification of the *Gloria in excelsis* (by Nic. Decius, 1531) *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr*; some having both the Latin and the German hymn, though the *Gloria* was in German prose with notes as early as the Strassburg *Kirchenampt* 1525, and in Döber's *Spitalmesse* 1525 as given in *Schlüter* 1531. In the latter the Minister said, "Glory be to God on high," and the choir answered, "Peace on earth, etc.;" and this is the way in which it usually appears.

For the general purport and the origin of the *Salutation*, see my *Liturgics*, p. 62. Though no mention of it appears in the outline of many Orders, I do not think it was meant to be omitted, except, perhaps, in such a case as *Pommern* 1534, which says, "Let us pray,—without turning to the people." For instance in Richter's resumé of *Mecklenburg* 1552 while the *Salutation* is omitted from the outline of the full Service for the city, it is expressly given for the village- and country churches. Music is provided for it in old Cantionales, and it is prescribed in *BN.* 1533, *B.* 1540, *Prussia* 1544, *Ritzebüttel* 1544, *Waldeck* 1556, *Edward VI.* 1549.

The invaluable notes on the *Collects* of Dr. B. M. Schmucker doubtless are treasured in the Library of the Seminary at Philadelphia; and my notes are too incomplete to be of service.

As to the *Epistle*: It is hardly necessary to bring proof that while some of our Orders preferred the *lectio continua*, it became Lutheran usage to retain the traditional Epistles and Gospels. (*F. M.* 1523 omits them, advising the choice of better; *Prussia* 1525 omits on ordinary Sundays; *Riga* 1530, *BN.* 1533, *Meckl.* 1540, *Pfalz-Neuberg* 1543 omit, but the old use was afterwards restored.—The *German Mass* 1526, *Prussia* 1544, (except at *Königsberg*), *Liefland* 1570, *Württemberg* 1553, *Cologne* 1543, *Saxon* 1539, *Nordlingen* 1539, *Brandenburg* 1540, *Brunswick* 1528, *Hamburg* 1539, *Lubeck* 1531, *Pommern* 1535,

*Schl.*, *Holstein* 1542, *Meckl.* 1552, *Calenberg-Göttingen* 1542, *Br. Wolfenbüttel* 1543, *Hadeln* 1544, *Hildesheim* 1544, *Br. Lüneberg* 1619, 1643, 1647, *Coburg* 1626, *Meckl.* 1650, *Halle* 1660, *Reuss* 1766, *Prussia* 1822, retain them.) The rubrical permission of other Lessons from Holy Scripture and the prescription of the Epistle and Gospel for the day, therefore have good authority. It should be added that Epistles and Gospels have been supplied to the days of Holy Week from the *Comes Theotinchi*, except the Epistle for Good Friday, which has good Lutheran authority.

For the *Hallelujah* see *Liturgies* pp. 61, 82, 108, 109. The rubrical permission of a Sentence, Psalm or Hymn after it may be justified by the multifold practice of our Church, which I must beg the reader patiently to consider.

1. Prescribe a *Psalm*: *Meckl.* 1552. *Pom.* 1535 a Psalm, or Latin *Alleluia* or *Gradual*.

2. A German Song, such as *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*: *G. M.* 1526, *Vis. Artt.* 1533; *Ritzebüttel* 1544.

3. Psalm or Sequence: *Bremen* 1534; on Festivals, *Pom.* 1535; Sequence or Spiritual song, *Meissen Vis. Artt.* 1539, *Saxon* 1539.

4. *Hallelujah* and Sequence or Psalm. *Nordh.* 1539, *Hamb.* 1539. *B.* 1540, *Cal. Gött.* 1542, *Pom.* 1542, *Osnabrück* 1543, *Cologne* 1543. *Wit.* 1533: "After the Epistle the children shall sing an usual *Alleluia* in Latin, at times also a *Gradual*, and then a German Song from Holy Scripture, which may be sung only to save time. On Christmas and until Purification the Sequence *Grates nunc omnes* shall be sung, the first verse three times and the last once, and, between its verses, verses of *Gelobet seistu Jesu Christ*, so that they both be sung through together.—On Easter and until Ascension in the same manner *Victimæ paschali* and *Christ lag in Todesbanden*.—On Pentecost *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*.—On the Nativity of John Baptist, *Psallite regi nostro*. The Sequence, *Laus tibi Christe* may be sung once or twice in the year on a Sunday. But the Sequence *de Sancta Trinitate* as often as it is wished." *Prussia* 1544 has *Hallelujah* arranged to the melody to which

the German Psalm is to be sung. Special Psalms or Songs are assigned to the Festivals.

There is no question with reference to the *Gospel*, except as to the authority for the liturgical setting with which it is given. Until the Reformation, and still in the Roman Church, the Gospel was introduced by a prayer for the cleansing of the lips of the reader, a request to the priest for his Benediction, his Benediction, the Salutation and Response, and the announcement of the Gospel. To this is answered, *Glory be to Thee, O God*. And after the reading the response is, *Praise be to Thee, O Christ*. The people stand while the Gospel is read. This traditional posture is retained in many of our churches, and the *Common Service*, while not prescribing it, cannot but recognize and allow it. It omits all that precedes the announcement of the Gospel's; announces it (*Br.* 1528, *BN.* 1533, *Pom.* 1535); allows the Response, *Glory be to Thee, O God*, (*Pom.* in Kliefoth V. 33), saying which the people may stand up; and after the Gospel prescribes the answer, *Praise be to Thee, O Christ*. That this was usual in some places, though it is not prescribed in the Orders, is rendered probable by the fact that it is given with music by Lossius and Vopelius\* (Preface to Meckl. Cationale I. 1.). Many of the Orders say simply "*The Gospel*"; some, that it shall be sung in the usual tone, with face turned to the people, (*G. M.*, 1526, *Wit.* 1533); *Pom.* 1535 allows it to be read if the Minister cannot sing; *F. M.*, 1523 says it neither forbids nor prescribes candles and incense; and *B.* 1540 retains the usual Benediction and requires the Gospel to be sung in Latin, then read in German.

The *Nicene Creed* (called the *Patrem*) or its equivalent, *Wir glauben all*, is prescribed by all our authorities. Only *Düßer* 1525 has the Apostles' Creed; and the *Pomeranian Agenda* (*Kliefoth* v. 45) puts the Athanasian Creed instead, at the Opening of Synods, on Trinity Sunday and once a month. It also allows the *Te Deum* to be sung instead.

We have mentioned the variations of early Orders in reference to the place of the Sermon. It must be added that in

\**Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch*, etc., von Gottfried Vopelius, Cantorad D. Nicolai, 1681.

German congregations the Sermon itself has a liturgical setting. In the *Agenda* of the Synod of Missouri, for instance, the preacher is directed to go into the pulpit while the Creed-Hymn is being sung, and at the close of it say in the pulpit a free prayer on Festivals, but on ordinary Sundays the Apostolic *Votum* or greeting, after which he gives the introduction to his Sermon. After the introduction he announces his theme; a verse of a hymn is sung; then he and the congregation kneel and silently pray the Lord's Prayer; whereupon he again announces and reads the Gospel for the day, which also is the text, the congregation standing, and after stating the divisions of his Sermon on ordinary Sundays he offers another prayer. At the close of the Sermon come the General Confession and Absolution.

We have not found such minute directions in our authorities. Daniel (*Cod. Lit.* II. 143) gives the following from *Brunswick-Lüneberg* 1657: "Before the sermon the preacher shall say the customary *votum* or prayer, Grace, mercy and peace from God the heavenly Father, His Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be and abide with us evermore. Then shall follow a silent prayer; then let all join with him in saying the Lord's Prayer. Then a Hymn. Then let the text be read and let him begin his sermon."

*Kliefoth* V. 47 gives as a general description 1. The Apostolic Greeting; 2. Exordium connecting the Sermon with the season and exhorting the people to prayer; 3. The Lord's Prayer or a prayer ending with it. *Lüneberg* 1598 and *Verden* (he says) have the prayer immediately after the *votum*; *Pommern*, *Hoya*, *Lauenburg* have a hymn before the call to prayer. *Löhe* (*Agenda* 3rd ed., p. 21) has merely the Apostolic Greeting before the Sermon, and adds that if the Sermon end with the *Gloria Patri* or a similar Doxology, the people may say *Amen*. *Kliefoth* (v. 367) advises that the Sermon always end with a prayer, closing with the Lord's Prayer and followed by the Apostolic Greeting.

Our Service, not bound to this elaborate arrangement, simply bids the Minister say at the close of his sermon: *The peace of God, etc.*

In the first report of the Committee it was proposed to add



to the Normal Order given above the *Collection of the Offerings of the Congregation*, but the place into which it was to be inserted was not determined. For the reasons which connect our offerings with the General Prayer, I refer to *Liturgics*, pp. 74 and 111; as also for the proof that our offerings ought to have a place in the Service, and had a place in the old Service, from which they were pushed by the false notion of the Sacrifice of the Mass and the consequent perversion of the Offertory. The Romish Offertory (described in *Liturgics*, p. 110) had taken the place of the old-Christian Offertory and (though *B.* 1540 retains it) was rightly excluded by the pure Orders, but nothing took its place. This want *Ref. Col.* 1543 tries to supply by this provision: "After the General Prayer the whole congregation shall sing the Creed [omitted before the Sermon] for such confession of faith befits the whole people of Christ, who have just heard his holy Gospel together. And since every one has heard the holy Gospel with true faith, and therefrom has learned that God out of his boundless love has given him His Son and with Him all things, and out of such faith gives himself to God and our Lord Jesus Christ as an offering, so while they sing the Creed believers ought to bring their freewill offerings, each as God in kindness has blessed him." *Edward VI.* 1549, omitting the General Prayer at this place, says after the Sermon or Homily or Exhortation, "Then shall follow for the Offertory one or more of these sentences of holy Scripture, to be sung while the people do offer; or else one of them may be said by the minister immediately afore the offering. Where there be clerks, they shall sing one or many of the sentences above written, according to the length and shortness of the time that the people be offering. In the meantime, whiles the clerks do sing the Offertory, so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor men's box every one according to his ability and charitable mind." The simple adoption from Schöberlein of passages from Ps. 51 to be sung as an Offertory in accordance with 2 Cor. 8 : 5, the permission of other suitable song, and the rubric *The offerings shall be gathered*, which does not prescribe whether they shall be gathered before or after the Prayer, or during or after the Song; with the rejection of Löhe's doubtful suggestion (too closely con-

nected with the old perversion) that during the song the elements of bread and wine may be put upon the altar or uncovered there, restore an essential part of the Service, interpret our contributions to the Church, and accord with the only precedents which the Orders of that age contain.

The *General Prayer* and the *Litany* have been fully illustrated in Dr. Jacobs' *Lutheran Movement in England* (pp. 303ff. 230-241). The Litany, which is Luther's, retains a petition for travelers, which Luther's did not have.\* The *N'b'g. Off. Sacr.* prays for "perpetual victory over all *Thine* enemies," but "its" has been kept with Luther. It is not necessary to multiply authorities for our use of the Litany. *Saxon* 1539, for instance, ordained that it should be sung at the Ember-seasons daily for a week; in the cities every Wednesday and Friday after the Sermon; and in villages once every Sunday. *Meckl.* 1552 has "After the Sermon sing the Litany or Psalms."

The "*Bidding Prayer*" is found in The Frankfort *Agendbüchlein* 1565 (see Höfling's *Urkundenbuch* p. 101; see also *Schw. Hall* 1526 in Richter I. 43). Our Service omits a prayer for *women with child*, and in turn inserts the Collect for the Catechumens (one of the very few original translations which the book contains) and a prayer for our enemies. The General Prayer No. vii. is of Anglican origin. "Though generally attributed to bp. Sanderson, the *General Thanksgiving* was certainly composed, and probably at the suggestion of the Presbyterians, by their representative Reynolds, who afterwards conformed and was made bp. of Norwich." (Trollope, *Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 147.) The prayers for the *good estate of the Church* and for *all conditions of men*, were composed by Gunning (1661) afterwards Bp. of Chichester and Ely, and are supposed to rest upon the Bidding Prayer just described. (See Blunt, *Annotated Bk. of C. P.*, p. 238.)

The manner in which the Reformation dealt with the Preface,

\**Kliefoth* v. 68: It was natural for the seafaring Mecklenburgers and Pomeranians to pray also for "all who travel by land or water." "Losius says that when the Litany is sung at ordinations, all the petitions for the Church are to be sung *on bended knees*. The *Meckl.* 1708 bade the boys kneel while intoning the words, *O Lamb of God.*"

the question being complicated with the introduction into the Service of an Exhortation to the communicants, will appear from the following summary. (See *Liturgics*, pp. 46-49.)

1. *Have the Preface without the Sanctus*, (the latter being introduced after the *Words of Institution*): *F. M.* 1523, *Pr.*, 1525; *Döber* 1525; *Strassb. K'ampt.* 1525,

2. *Like Pre-reformation Service*: *Wit.* 1533 (if wished), *Halle* 1541; *Col.* 1543; *Augustus of Saxony* 1580; *BL.* 1657; *Pr.* 1821, *Austria* 1571, *Regensburg* 1630, *Pom.* 1563, *Br.* 1569, 1615, *Jegers* 1562, *Stralsund* 1555.

3. *Omit*: *BN.* 1533, *Schw. H.* 1526, *Württemberg* 1536, *Schw. H.* 1543, *Würt.* 1553, *Coburg* 1626, *Gotha* 1645.

4. *Omit, and replace with the Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer*: *G. M.* 1526 (the *Sanctus* being sung during the Communion), *Nordheim* 1539, (*Pr.*, 1558 and *El. Saxony* 1580, *Kliefoth*).

5. *Retain Preface and direct priest to say certain prayers while the Sanctus is being sung*: *B.* 1540, *Eliz. of Br. Lüneberg*.

6. *Ordinarily the Exhortation instead, but on Great Feasts the Preface*: *Saxon* 1539, (*Hadeln and Schkw: Kl.*), *Magd.-Halberstadt* 1632, *Magdeburg* 1653, 1740.

7. *Have both the Preface and the Exhortation*: *Br.* 1528, *Hamb.* 1529, 1539, *Lübeck* 1531, *Pom.* 1535, 1542, *Schl. Holst.* 1542, *Göttingen* 1530, *Meckl.* 1552 (1534), *W.* 1559, *Meckl.* 1650, *BL.* 1619, 1643 (the last three allowing the omission of both, if time presses).

The texts of the proper Prefaces are found in *Daniel Cod. lit.* I. and in *Saxon* 1539 or *Meckl.* 1552. The *Trinity Preface* has been abbreviated. As an example of the questions which had to be met in the preparation of the text, I will give the translation of the *Preface for the Passion Season*. The original is:

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus qui salutem humani generis in ligno crucis constituisti, ut unde

Der Du das Heil des menschlichen Geschlechtes am Stamm des Kreuzes vollbracht hast, auf dasz vom Holz das Leben wieder entsprösze, wie der Tod vom Holze den Anfang genommen hat, und

mors oriebatur inde vitar esurgeret ; der am Holze den Sieg genommen,  
 et qui in ligno vincebat, in ligno ihn am Holze wieder verlöre durch  
 quoque vinceretur, per Christum Christum, unsern Herren, durch  
 Dominum nostrum, per quem. welchen.—\*

1. Of this the *Church-Book* gave the following rendering :  
 Who for the redemption of our sinful race was lifted up upon  
 the cross ; to the end that where death began, there also life  
 might be restored ; that he who overcame at the tree of the  
 garden should also be overcome at the tree of the cross.

Then came these emendations :

2. (Through Jesus Christ) Who for the redemption of our sin-  
 ful race was lifted up upon the Cross ; to the end that as death  
 came from the tree, so life might also shine from the same ; that  
 he who overcame at the tree of the garden, should be overcome  
 on the tree of the Cross.

3. (Upon the Cross ; ) to the end that as death began at the  
 tree, so from the tree life might again go forth ; that he who  
 overcame at the tree, should be overcome on the Cross,

Showing that the former versions rested on an error.

4. Who, by the Tree of the Cross, didst give salvation unto  
 mankind : that whence death arose, thence Life also might rise  
 again : and that he who by a tree once overcame, might likewise  
 by a tree be overcome, through Christ our Lord ; through  
 whom etc.

This is from Shipley's *Ritual of the Altar*, and after many emen-  
 dations, successively rejected, was adopted by the Committee.

The *Roman Missal in English* gives

5. Eternal God, who hast appointed that the salvation of  
 mankind should be wrought on the tree of the Cross ; that life  
 might spring whence death had arisen : and that he who had  
 overcome by a tree, might also by a tree be overcome ; through  
 Christ our Lord.

The *Exhortation* is a Lutheran addition to the Service. One  
 form, composed by Luther and first published in the *German*  
*Mass* 1526, is a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and an Exhor-  
 tation to the Supper. It was adopted by *Nordh.* 1539, *El. Sax-*

\*See a different form in *Mecklenburg Cationale* 1. 1. p. 126.

ony 1580, *Coburg* 1626, *Saxon* 1539 *Oldenb.* 1573. The form generally adopted is the composition of *Wolfgang Volprecht*, the Augustinian Prior at Nürnberg. It is found in *BN.* 1533, 64, 91, 92, *Veit Dietrich* 1543, 44, 45, 69; *N'b'g. Agendbüchlein* 1586, 1639, 1691, *Rothenburg* 1668, *Frankfort Feldprediger ordnung* 1734, *El. Brand'b'g.* 1540, 1542, *Pfalz* 1543, *Schw. H.* 1543, 1771, *Württemberg Series*, and so forth. It has been much abbreviated in the *Common Service*.

We have now come to the important question of the relative position of the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Words of Institution* in the Holy Supper. A full transcription of the evidence on the subject will show the whole field and give the student a notion of the families of Lutheran liturgies.

1. In the *Pre-reformation Missals* the *Words of Institution* precede the *Lord's Prayer* and are not given simply but involved in the *Canon of the Mass* and the *Offering of the Mass*.

2. *Luther* in *F. M.* 1523 and his *Weise der Mess*, 1524 places the *Words* before the *Lord's Prayer*. In this he is followed by *Bugenhagen* 1524, *Düber* 1525, *Pr.* 1525, *Strassb'g Kirchenamt* 1525, *Riga* 1530, *Schlüter* 1531, *BN.* 1533, *B.* 1540, *Ref. Col.* 1543, *Edward VI.* 1549, *Pfalz-Neuberg* 1543, *Veit Dietrich's Agend-büchlein* 1543 and subsequent editions, *N'b'g. Officium Sacr.* 1664, *Rothenburg* 1668.

3. *Luther* in his *German Mass* 1526 has only a Paraphrase of the *Lord's Prayer* followed by the *Words*. So *Nordh.* 1539, *Saxon* 1539 (see 4.), *Pr.* 1544.

4. The *Lord's Prayer* (simple, not in paraphrase) precedes the *Words* in (a) *Bugenhagen's Group*: *Br.* 1528, *Hamb.* 1529, *Lübeck* 1531, *Schl. H.* 1542, *Pom.* 1535, *Br. Wolf.* 1543. *Myn-den* 1530, *Soest* 1532, *Bargerdorp* 1544, *Hadeln* 1544. (b.) *Saxon Vis. Artt.* 1533, *W.* 1533, *Bremen* 1534, (c.) *Württemberg.* 1536, 1553, 1559, 1582, 1589, 1602, 1615, 1660, 1743, 1747, 1821—until now. (d.) *Saxon* 1539 (on festivals Preface, Sanctus, *Lord's Prayer*, *Words*; given with musical notes), 1624, 1771, 1712; 1580; *Coburg* 1626; *Saxon* 1685, *Gotha* 1682; *El. Saxony* 1557, 1594—and until now. (e.) *Augsburg Agendenbuch* 1537.—*Hamb.* 1539. (f.) *Pommern* 1542, 1563, 1568, 1661, 1691, 1731.—*Halle* 1541.—*Göttingen* 1542.—*Schw. H.*

1543.—*Osnabrück* 1543.—*Bonn.* 1652.—*Meckl.* 1552, *W.* 1559. *Stralsund* 1555.—*Pfalz* 1556.—*Waldeck* 1556, 1731.—*Mümpelgard* 1560, 1571.—*Erbach* 1560.—*Lossius* 1561.—*Feveris* 1562.—*Pfalz* 1563.—*Lüneberg* 1564, 1598, 1619, 1643, and to our time.—*Frankfort* (a) *M.* 1565.—*Calenberg* 1569, 1612, 1734. *Wolfgang* 1570.—*Austria* 1571.—*Lippe* 1571.—*Oldenburg* 1573.—*Hohenlohe* 1577.—*Hanau* 1573, 1659.—*Nassau* 1576.—*Grubenhagen-Br.* 1581.—*Hoya* 1581.—*Lower Saxony* 1585.—*Liegnitz* 1594, 1598.—*Strassburg* 1670.—*Schl. Holst.* 1601, 1615.—*Nassau-Saarbrück* 1762.—*Verden* 1602.—*Regensburg* 1630.—*Magdeburg* 1673, 1692, 1739.—*Br.* 1657.—*Nordlingen* 1676.—*Limpurg* 1666.

After the *Words of Institution* the *Common Service* inserts the *Pax*, *The Peace of the Lord*, etc. This has the authority of the entire *Nürnberg* family of liturgies, besides *F. M.* 1523 and *Prussia* 1525.

The *Agnus Dei* during the *Distribution* has the same authority as the *Pax*; and also *Nordheim* 1539, *Saxon* 1539, *Meckl.* 1552, *W.* 1559, *Pom., B., Lower Saxony, Oldenb., Saxon* 1580, *Coburg* 1626, *Nassau* 1575, *Austria* 1571, and others, which also allow other appropriate Song.

The *Formula of Distribution* is taken from *BN.* 1533. *Saxon* 1539, *Meckl.* 1542 and *W.* 1559 have no formula at all. *BN.* is followed by *BN.* 1564, 92, *Electoral Brandenburg* (whole series), *Veit Dietrich's Agendbüchlein*, *Mümpelgard*, *Oldenburg*, *Austria* 1571. Other formulas occur. "*The True Body and Blood*" is found first in *BN.* 1591. The plural *Take ye*, first in *Hohenlohe* 1688. The words which the Southern book allows as a dismissal, are first found in *Augsburg-Strassburg* (1565?). *Jesus said*" appears first in *Ulm* 1747. (See *Höfling*.)

The permissive use of the *Nunc dimittis* in this place is supported by *Düßer* 1525 and *Bugenhagen* 1524 (according to *Löhe*).

The *Thanksgiving Collect* is found first in *Luther*, and from him has been adopted by nearly all the *Lutheran Orders*. It is in *Saxon* 1539, *Meckl.* 1552, *W.* 1559, *Spangenberg* 1545, *BN.*

1543, *Pommern, Württemberg*, etc., etc.\* Other Collects are sometimes given. The Versicle is found in *Coburg* 1626, *E. Frisia* 1631, *Hildburghausen* 1685 (see *Kliefoth*, v. 140).

All of the Nürnberg series and the *Formula Missae* insert the *Benedicamus* as in the Southern edition.

All of the authorities agree in giving the Old Testament *Benediction* from *Num.* vi. Some, as *BN.*, Veit Dietrich, *Schw. H.* 1543, allowed alternative forms.

v.

In order to exhibit the authority for the Evening or Vesper Service and of the Early Morning or Matin Service, it may be best to give the scheme of several of our Church Orders, to which the reader may refer as we afterwards consider the parts.

1. STRASSB'G-ERFURT KIRCHENAMPT. 1525.	2. GERMAN MASS. 1526. MATINS.	1526. VESPERS.
Psalms.	Psalms.	Psalms.
Antiphon.	Antiphon.	Antiphon.
Lections.	Lections.	Lections.
Hymn.	Antiphon.	<i>Magnificat.</i>
<i>Magnificat.</i>	Lections.	Antiphon.
Salutation.	Lord's Prayer.	Lord's Prayer.
Collect.	Collect.	Collects.
Psalms 66.	<i>Benedicamus.</i>	<i>Benedicamus.</i>
Benediction.		
3. PRUSSIA 1526. MATINS.	4. HESSE 1526. MATINS.	SCHWABISCH-HALL 1526.
<i>O Lord, Open Thou,</i> <i>Venite</i> , (Ps. 95).	<i>Venite.</i>	
Antiphon.	1, 2 or 3 Psalms.	
2 or 3 Psalms.	Rhythmical Psalm.	
Lesson.	Lesson.	
Explanation	Interpretation.	
Response	Benedictus.	

\*Since the publication of the *Common Service* I have found in Coverdale's Works, Cambridge, 1844, in an account of the *Order of the Church in Denmark*, l. 477, a translation of this Collect: "O Lord God Almighty, we thank Thee with all our hearts, that Thou hast fed our souls with the body and blood of Thy most dear Son. And we beseech Thee unfeignedly so to illuminate our minds with Thy Holy Spirit, that we may daily increase in strength of faith to Thee, and in assuredness of hope in Thy promises, and ferventness of love toward Thee and our neighbours, to the glory and praise of Thy holy name."



*But Thou, O Lord* &c. Salutation.*Thanks be, &c.* Lord's Prayer.

Collect of the Season. Prayer.

Benediction. Benediction.

## VESPERS.

*Make haste, &c.**Gloria Patri.*

1, 2 or 3 Psalms.

Lesson.

Explanation.

*Magnificat.*

Versicles.

Collects.

Benediction.

## VESPERS.

As in morning, except

omit *Venite* and sing*Magnificat* or *Nunc**dimittis* instead of*Benedictus*. On Sun-

days sing both of

them.

*Make haste, &c.*

Latin Psalm.

Antiphon.

Sermon.

*Magnificat.*

Prayer.

Benediction.

6. SAXON VISITATION  
ARTICLES 1528.

## MATINS.

Three 1 salms.

Lesson.

Lord's Prayer.

German Song.

Collect.

7. WITTENBERG 1533.

## MATINS.

\* As in Vespers, singing

*Te Deum, Benedictus,*or *Quicumque Vult.*

8. SAXON 1539.

## MATINS.

1, 2, or 3 Psalms.

Antiphon.

Lesson.

*Benedictus* with *Anti-*

Collect. [phon.

(The *Te Deum* may be  
sung.)

## VESPERS.

Three Psalms.

Antiphons.

Hymns

Responses.

Lections.

Lord's Prayer.

*Te Deum*, or *Benedic-**tus*, or *Quicumque* Litany.*Vult*, or pure Preces. Versicle.

German Song.

Collects.

## VESPERS.

2 or 3 Psalms with An-  
tiphon.

3 Lessons.

Hymn.

\*

Sermon.

Litany.

Versicle.

Collect.

*Benedicamus.*

## VESPERS.

1, 2 or 3 Psalms.

Antiphon.

Responsory or Hymn.

Lesson.

*Magnificat.*

Antiphon.

Collect.

*Benedicamus.*

\**Te Deum* on Sundays before Service; *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* after it—Kyrie, Lord's Prayer, Collect, *Benedicamus*. *Vis. Artt.* 1533 have Psalm, Lesson, Hymn, *Magnificat*, Collect. *Sermon* before *Magnificat*.

9. NORDHEIM 1539.

MATINS.

3 Psalms  
Lesson.  
Responsory  
*Te Deum.*

Lesson.  
Benedictus.  
Collect.

VESPERS.

Psalms.  
Antiphon.  
Hymn.  
Magnificat.  
Catechism.

10. HAMBURG 1539.

MATINS.

Antiphon.  
Psalm.  
Lesson.  
Responsory.  
*Te Deum.*

*Kyrie*  
Lord's Prayer.  
*Benedicamus.*

VESPERS.

Antiphon.  
Psalm.  
Lesson.  
Responsory.  
Hymn.  
*Magnificat.*  
Antiphon.  
*Nunc dimittis.*  
*Kyrie.*  
Lord's Prayer.  
Versus.  
Collect.  
*Benedicamus.*

11. CALENBERG-GÜTTINGEN 1542.

MATINS.

*Make haste, &c.*  
Invitatory and *Venite.*  
3 Psalms with Antiphon.  
Lesson.  
*Te Deum.*  
Lesson.  
*Benedictus* with Anti-  
Collect. [phon.  
*Benedicamus.*  
*Da pacem.*

VESPERS.

*Make haste, &c.*  
*Gloria Patri.*  
*Antiphon.*  
3 Psalms.  
Hymn *de tempore.*  
Versicle.  
Antiphon.  
*Magnificat.*  
Lesson.  
Exposition.  
Collect.  
Benediction.

12. POMMERN 1542.

MATINS.

Antiphon.  
Psalm.  
Lesson.  
Responsory.  
Lesson in German.  
*Te Deum.*  
Collect.  
*Benedicamus.*

VESPERS.

Antiphon.  
Psalm.  
Responsory.  
Hymn.  
Lesson.

13. REF. COLOGNE 1543.

MATINS.

3 Psalms.  
*Te Deum.*  
*Benedictus.*  
With Antiphons and  
Responsories.

VESPERS.

Instead of the *Te Deum*  
a pure Hymn and the  
*Magnificat.*  
Catechism.  
A Lection from Holy

14. PRUSSIA 1544.

MATINS.

2 or 3 Psalms.  
Lesson.  
Exposition.  
Responsory. [Lord, etc.  
Versicle: But Thou, O  
Collect of the Season.  
Benediction.

VESPERS.

*Make haste, &c.*  
*Gloria Patri.*  
1, 2 or 3 Psalms.  
Lessons.  
*Magnificat.*

Catechism.	Scripture.	A General	<i>Versicle.</i>
Antiphon.	Prayer.	A Song of	Collects.
<i>Magnificat.</i>	praise.		Benediction.
<i>Nunc dimittis.</i>	Benediction.		The <i>Te Deum</i> to be sung
<i>Da pacem</i> or			at early Service on Sun-
Lesson.			days. Special Respon-
Litany.			sories and Hymns may
Collect for the Church.			be sung on the Festivals.
<i>Benedicamus.</i>			
<i>Da pacem.</i>			

15. *BN.* 1533 provides that *Vespers shall be at the usual time in the usual manner.*

16. Schlüter's Rostock *Gesangbuch* 1531 gives us a picture of these services in process of development. Thus:

*The German Vespers.*

Antiphon. *Veni Sancte Spiritus*—Komm heiliger Geist. Collect (Col. for Whitsunday in *Common Service*). Ps. 110—114. *Magnificat.* Collect after *Magn.* (Collect for 5th Sunday after Easter).

*The German Completorium* or *Compline.* Psalms 4, 25, 91, 134. *Nunc dimittis.* Two Collects (the second being the fifth of our Litany Collects).

*The German Matins.* Psalms 1, 2, 3. A lesson out of the Old or New Testament. Responsory *Si bona suscepimus.* The *Te Deum laudamus.*

*Lauds.* Psalms 93, 100, 63, 67, 148. *Benedictus.* Collects (S. after Easter, 13. after Trinity, 18. after Trinity, Holy Thursday).

We have here seventeen outlines, repeated or modified in other Orders and reënforced by the abundant musical provision of the cantionales. What do they teach us concerning the Lutheran Matin and Vesper Service? 1. That it was modeled on the familiar old service. 2. That the service of Lauds was combined with Matins, and Vespers with Compline? 3. That they consisted of Psalmody, Lections, Hymn and Prayer, and generally were given in that order. 4. That a Sermon or Exposition or Summary of the lessons was added to them by the Reformation. 5. The only serious question of Order is caused by the Sermon. Is it to follow the Canticle or to precede it? Is it to be put with the lessons or to form a separate and unas-

simulated part? 6. The parts were introduced, connected and interpreted by Antiphons, Responsories, Versicles. 8. The traditional opening versicles of the Matin Service (*Domine labia* and *Deus in adjutorium*) and of the Vespers (*Deus in adjutorium*) were not altogether discarded. 9. The Morning Service was distinguished from that of the Evening (a) in some cases, as formerly, by the Invitatory and *Venite* (Ps. 95) or by the *Venite* only; (b) by the use of the *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* instead of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*; (c) sometimes by the use of Psalms 1-110 (*Dixit Dominus*) at Matins, 110-150 at Vespers; (d) sometimes by the use of New Testament at Matins and Old Testament at Vespers in the Lessons. 10. The characteristic ending is the *Benedicamus*, sometimes followed by the *Da pacem*.\* 11. We have for the prayer the traditional *Kyrie*, *Lord's Prayer*, *Collect* (W. 1533, Hamburg 1539), or pure *Preces* (*Vis. Artt.* 1528), or the Litany, or a General Prayer, or simply Collects.

We submit that the *Common Service* sets forth this *consensus*, with all the freshness that might be expected of the living worship of the Church of Christ.

I will complete this paper by giving the sources of the minor parts of the Vesper and Matin Services, so far as my own notes permit.

*Advent. Invitatory. Meckl. Cationale. Ludecus* 1589. Antiphons: 1 Ps. 30 : 27; Ps. 72 : 19. 2. Ps. 40 and Ps. 70. 3. Zech. 9 : 9 *Lossius* for the Vigil of Christmas. *N'b'g. Off.*

\*What is the *Da pacem*? I give Luther's arrangement of it, as reprinted from Klug's *Wittenberg Gesangbuch* in Schlüter:

Verleih uns gnaden gnädiglich  
Herr Gott zu unseren Zeiten  
Es ist je keinen anderen nicht  
Der für uns könnte streiten  
Als du unser Gott allein  
Gott gyff frede zu dynem lande  
Gluck und heyl tho allem stande.

Then the Collect for *Peace*, as in our Vespers. Observe that the verse reproduces the *Versicles before that Collect* as given in the *Common Service* at the end of the Suffrages and the Litany.

*Sac.* 4. All our sources. Responsory: *Off. Sac. Lossius, Onoltz: i. e. Libellus continens Antiphonas, Responsoria, Introitus, Sequentias, Hymnos, Versiculos et Officia Missae Germanicae, quae in Ecclesia Onoltzbacensi, et Heilsbronnensi decantantur.* 1627. Versicles: 1. Ps. 50 : 2, 3. 2. St. Luke 3 : 4. 3. Is. 45 : 8.

*Christmas.* Invitatory: *Lossius, Ludecus: Vesperale et Matutinale, &c.,* 1589, *Gesangbuch* of Bohemian Brethren 1606. Antiphons: 1. Ps. 2 : 7 *Lossius.* 2. Ps. 111 : 9 *Lossius, Off. Saer., Meckl.* 3. Ps. 132 : 11 *Lossius.* Responsory: John 1 : 14, 1. *Off. Sac., Lossius.* Versicles. 1. Ex. 16 : 6, 7. 2. Ps. 119 : 3. John 1 : 14. 4. Ps. 118 : 26, 27. 5. Is. 9 : 6. 6. Luke 2 : 11.

*Epiphany.* Invitatory: *Ludecus, Lossius Bohemian Book, Meckl.* Antiphons: 1. Ps. 29 : 1, 2 *Off. Sac. Sarum Breviary.* 2. *Lossius, Meckl.* 3. Luke 2 : 32—*Ib. Ib.* 4. Matt. 2 : 2 *Off. Sac.* Responsory: Is. 60 : 1, 3. *Off. Sac., Lossius, Spangenberg, Onoltz.* Versicles: 1. Ps. 72 : 10. 2. Ps. 72.

*The Passion Season.* Antiphons: Matt. 4 : 4 *Lossius, Meckl, Ludecus.* 2. 2 Cor. 6 : 2 *Meckl., Eler. Cantica Sacra \* \* \** a Francisco Elero Hamburg, 1588. 3. Ps. 2 : 2. 4. Is. 53 : 7, 6. Responsory: *Lossius, Eler, Meckl.* Versicles: Ps. 22 : 21, 2. Phil. 2, 3. Is. 53.

*Easter.* Invitatory: *Lossius.* Antiphons: 1. *Off. Sac., Lossius, Meckl.* 2. Ps. 3 : 5 *Ludecus, Lossius, Off. Sac.* 3. Matt. 28 : 6 *Ludecus, Off. Sac., Meckl.* 4. Luke 24 : 29 *Lossius, Meckl.* Responsory: Rom. 6 : 9; 4 : 25 *Off. Sac. Onoltz., Meckl.* Versicles: 1. 2. John 20 : 20, 3. Ps. 118 : 24. 4. Luke 24 : 34.

*Ascension.* Invitatory: *Lossius, Ludecus, Meckl., Schoeberlein.* Antiphons: 1. John 16 : 7 *Off. Sac. Lossius.* 2. *Lossius, Eler, Schoeberlein.* 3. John 20 : 17. *Lossius.* Responsory: Mark 16 : 15, 16. *Lossius, Onoltz., Meckl. Off. Sac. Ludecus, Keuchen-thal 1573: Kirchengesenge, Latinisch u Deudsch, sampt allen Evangelien, Episteln und Collectn auf die Sonntage und Feste nach Ordnung der Zeit durchs ganze Jar. Wiltunberg 1573. Pfalz KO. 1573.* Versicles: John 14 : 18, 28. Ps. 47 : 5.

*Whitsuntide.* Invitatory: *Ludecus, 1589.* Antiphons: 1.

All the Sources; from the 11th Century. 2. Ps. 104 : 30 *Off. Sac., Lossius, Eler.* 3. John 14 : 18. Responsory: *Off. Sac., Onoltz, Lossius, Eler. Meckl.* Versicles 1. John 14 : 26. 2. Acts 2 : 4. 3. Ps. 51.

*Trinity.* Invitatory.—Antiphons: 1. All the sources. 2. Same. 3. Rev. 4 : 8, *Off. Sac.* Responsory: *Off. Sac.*

*Reformation.* Antiphon: Ps. 119 : 46. Versicles: Ps. 119 : 105. 2. 1 Kings 8 : 57. 3. Ps. 51 : 18. 4. Gal. 5 : 1.

*Humiliation.* Antiphon: Ps. 86 : 3, 1. Versicles: 1. Ps. 51 : 1. 2. Ps. 143. 3. Ps. 103 : 10. 4. Ps. 51 : 10. 5. Ps. 106 : 6.

*Church Dedication.* Antiphon: Ps. 11 : 4. Versicle: Ps. 93 : 5.

*Commemoration of the Dead.* Antiphons: 1. Rev. 21 : 4. *Lossius.* 2. *Lossius. Ludecus.* Versicles: 1. Heb. 13 : 14. 2. Rev. 14 : 13.

*For Other Times.* Antiphons: 1. Ps. 130 : 1. 2. Ps. 50 : 2. 3. Ps. 37 : 5. 4. Ps. 64 : 1. 5. see Ps. 147 : 1; 6. Ps. 138 : 8. 7. Ps. 7 : 1. 8. Ps. 110 : 1. 9. Ps. 72 : 18. 10. Ps. 131 : 21. 11. Ps. 72 : 19. 12. Ps. 122 : 1. 13. See Ps. 86 : 7. 14. Ps. 145 : 2. 15. Ps. 16 : 11. 16. ——— 17. Ps. 112 : 11. Responsory: Ps. 119 : 89, 105, 26 : 8, Luke 11 : 28. Versicles: 1. Ps. 145 : 15. 2. Ps. 103 : 8. 3. Luke 10 : 2. 4. John 16 : 24. 5. Ps. 136 : 1. 6. Ps. 92 : 1. 7. Ps. 10 : 17. 8. Ps. 29 : 11. 9. Dan. 12 : 3. 10. Prov. 10 : 15. 11. Ps. 91 : 11. 12. Ps. 84 : 11. 13. John 17 : 17. 14. ——— 15. Ps. 25 : 4. 16. Ps. 28 : 9. 17. Ps. 79 : 9. 18. Ps. 13 : 5. 19. Mark 10 : 14. 20. Ps. 103 : 1, 2. 21. Ps. 50 : 15. 22. Ps. 119 : 27, 28.

The *Suffrages* are the *Preces* referred to by the *Saxon Visitation Articles* 1528. The first set given (No. II. of General Prayers) is the *Preces* of the old Lauds and Vespers; the *Morning Suffrages* (No. III.) are the Prayers of *Prime*; the *Evening Suffrages* (No. IV.) are the Prayers of *Compline*; Luther's Morning and Evening Prayer given in the Catechism being given instead of the Collects of the original. Much has been cast out of these prayers to make them "pure" (see *Vis. Artt.* 1528), and the Lord's Prayer and Creed, which in the Original were said silently (as "*secreta*") are said aloud.

## VI.

The evidence I have presented seems to me abundantly to prove that the *Common Service* does exactly what it was intended to do, and what it claims to do. It is the old Lutheran Service. It is not the copy of one of those liturgies, but it reproduces in English the *Consensus* of the pure Lutheran Liturgies. Very happily, by means of its rubrics, it incorporates with the Service itself the freedom, the variety, the adaptability to time and place, which are essential to Lutheran worship. There is no more flexible Service than this. Yet it is the *full Lutheran Service with all its provisions for all who wish to use it*. There is not an essential of Lutheran Worship which it omits; and if aught were omitted which it contains, while it might more closely agree with some one Liturgy, it would not be the *full* Lutheran Service with *all* its provisions.

In gathering these notes, I have turned over many letters which passed between members of the Committee while the work was in process or in press; they revived memories of delightful association and earnest, thorough labor, that stretched over twelve years; and chiefly did they remind me of the Chairman of the Committee, now called to a better worship of God. Letter after letter shows the patient and minute and deliberate and everlearning scholarship of Dr. Schmucker. They awakened my old wonder at the readiness with which he gave into our hands the notes of lifelong studies, and made ours what no one of the Committee could have got with equal devotion. And I remembered that his fairness and unselfishness in Committee and out of it revealed a beauty in his character that we had overlooked before, in our regard for the scholar and admiration of the churchman.



## ARTICLE VIII.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE ORGANIZATION  
OF MODERN EUROPE.

By REV. PROF. B. F. PRINCE, A. M., Wittenberg College, Springfield, O.

When the Roman nation went down to ruin in the night of barbarism that swept over it from the north of Europe, there was little promise that out of its broken members would arise great nationalities, stamped with many features of the old government that made it brilliant in the days of its greatness and power. For more than five centuries the name of Rome was sounded abroad as the synonym of greatness, success and majesty. Little by little its force and energy were undermined by the curse of infidelity, of materialism and of a lack of patriotism, and by the introduction of every crime that marks a corrupt age. A long period of preparation had made her ready for that revolution that fell upon her with irresistible power.

While the Cæsars were occupying the imperial throne, there was introduced within Rome itself, another force more vital even than the power of emperors. Many of these tried to crush it, and after long and bitter persecutions they proclaimed that Christianity was extinct, and that it could never again revive, so thoroughly did the work of its destruction seem to be done. Yet amid the very walls of Rome it still lived, because the animating power of its founder was greater than the arms of the Cæsars, and because the priceless boon it offered was more acceptable to the human heart than any promise of the empire. So it lived on in the hearts of men who sought places of seclusion for the worship of God, and where they might meet to give one another mutual encouragement in the pursuit of a holy life. It is an interesting fact that while the great empire was slowly dying, there was at the same time taking root among the people an organization that was destined to shape the affairs of Europe and bring out of reigning chaos, order, harmony and living force now so familiar in the nations that are found there. Mil-

man has said, "Like all great works of nature and of human power in the material world and in the world of man, the papacy grew up in silence."\* This expresses the quiet and, for the most part, unobtrusive method of the Church's progress in its early career at Rome.

The Church as an organized institution had little opportunity to manifest itself before the time of Constantine; yet it had its own secret and well adjusted machinery that gave it force when once the ban was removed and the right given it to live. No doubt the system and the order manifest in the Apostolic Church had been carried to all the provinces where it made disciples. There is everywhere shown in the history of the early Church an evident arrangement by which certain duties were committed to the stewards, whose business it was to watch over temporal affairs, while to the clergy proper the duty of preaching the word and a wise supervision over the general interests were especially enjoined. In the larger cities were bishops, whose duty it was to exercise care over the churches and clergy in the smaller places, thus forming an organization that made a ready showing and expanse of power when once full liberty was given to exercise the privilege of public worship. With the proclamation that Christianity would not only be tolerated, but that it should become the national religion, the Church as a strong organization at once stepped forward and assumed a place of influence in the affairs of the Roman government, and showed a vitality that was remarkable when it is remembered that Diocletian at the close of his persecution, had pronounced it extinct. All the superior bishops found in the larger cities, with such provincial clergy as the cause of Christianity demanded, at once fell in with the new condition of affairs and showed great energy in getting control of all the forces necessary to control society. When Christianity was adopted as the religion of the state there was no new organization brought into existence. The age of Constantine found the Church a well-arranged system for the accomplishment of its purposes. Its plans and schemes were well calculated to impress both emperor

---

\*Latin Christianity, vol. I., 47.

and people, and it showed itself capable of taking care of its own interests in any emergency.

The demand that the Church had to meet in society as then constituted was of a kind to try its best powers. The elements of decay working within the Roman organization, not only brought weakness to the whole body politic, but they fostered the worst crimes and evils that made the growth of Christianity toilsome and tedious. In addition to this internal state, the barbarians, who were a rude and savage people, and whose only objects were plunder and a new home, to be obtained by violence, came down from the central parts of Europe and preyed on the vital forces of the empire. They carried their arms into every province under Roman sway, laying waste every fair land that fell into their hands, and showing little concern about the institutions which had grown sacred by long usage. Their manners were coarse, and they had little appreciation for the finer feelings that marked a cultivated age. The Goths, Vandals, Burgundians and others, of whatever name, were fierce warriors; they had spent their lives in battling with the elements incident to their climate, and resisting the encroachments of other tribes on their native haunts; they had but little intercourse, so far, with the more refined civilization that lay to the South along the Mediterranean Sea. For many years after they came to these new countries, they jostled each other and overturned society as they found it, and established themselves in homes that they had secured by driving out their true owners. A people with such views as they entertained, caring little for the rights of others and responding to every resistance toward themselves with still more violence, were indeed a hard class to bring under the sway of the Gospel as understood and insisted upon by the Latin Church. Into every nook and corner of Europe where the empire had established its power, they came and secured for themselves a footing that it was impossible to wrest from them. There was no temporal power able to reduce them to permanent subjection; if they were to be changed in mind and character, it must be done by spiritual influence. Their Arianism must be eradicated and their notions of law and order must be brought into conformity with that growing out of

the Christian system. This was then the work that the Church had to do. It had as yet met no such foe as now confronted it. The Greek philosopher had heard the story of the Cross with doubt in his mind, but in the end colored it with his own belief and originated the many sects that found a place in the various cities where he dwelt; the Roman, in the conviction that Christianity was only another form of mischievous Judaism, set himself squarely across the track of its further progress and even its existence, but he now had changed his policy and was yielding to the forms of Christian life. But the Goth was a more difficult character than either to convert to the Gospel, for he understood little of the spiritual claims that the Church made upon him; his mind was almost a barren field, which had to be cultivated up to a point that it could with understanding receive the divine message. From this task Christianity did not shrink, but after years of faithful labor won its way into every corner of the land and made brave defenders of the Church out of material that was both unpromising and hostile.

I. Through the influence of the Church the condition of the common people was greatly improved and their distresses ameliorated. It must always be set down to her credit, that during the Middle Ages when so many causes for suffering on the part of the masses existed, that she was ever disposed to befriend the poor and the unfortunate. The churches became asylums for those who fell on evil times. Priests and monks labored faithfully for the improvement of the condition of the abject classes. Owing to the different nationalities and the petty kings that everywhere existed, continual conquests were made by one over another, and the vanquished party was often roughly treated and forced into a condition of hardship and slavery. At such times the monasteries and cathedrals became places for refuge to the unfortunate, where their protection was regarded in time as a sacred duty of the Church. Such action on her part made her respected by the humble class of society. When it was also seen that she could enforce her discipline so effectually that even armies composed of knights and led by kings were compelled to stop their marauding expeditions at the portals of her great institutions and give up the pursuit of their enemies, the rever-

ence for her sacred character was increased among all classes. Nor did she enforce her authority by armies of her own, but by that prestige she had gained in teaching and maintaining that her origin was divine. An institution before which the powerful must stand in awe and be compelled to do just things to the poor, and which, also, ever held out a helping hand to the needy, was one that made a powerful appeal to the people among whom it was found. The lower and weaker portions of society loved it because of the benefits that they received from it, and by their devotion to its interests they gained in favor and in influence until the dominant class was forced to accord them better treatment.

The fact, too, that Christianity sought its converts not alone from the noble and powerful in society, but gathered them also from among slaves and the lower walks of life, performing the same rights for each, whether in health, sickness, or death, thus bringing all upon the same common level, made the Church an institution loved especially by those who had no recognition of their better nature among the institutions of men. No wonder then that the common people loved her and gave her their firmest adherence under all the conditions of life in which they were thrown. The existence of such was made tolerable by the kindly offices and favors of the ecclesiastical power; the Church made them, by her recognition, feel their manliness of character, which in time incited them to strive after those rights and privileges which are accorded now to the people by nearly all the governments of Europe. The struggle was long and bitter, but the peasant and craftsman have come to the surface because the Gospel taught them ages ago, that they were also men endowed with qualities and capacities which fitted them for places of responsibility among mankind.

II. The Church had something to do with shaping the character of the government of Modern Europe. The time came when it was necessary for the old Roman empire to crumble into pieces. Five centuries of absolute power during which time the common people were constantly descending to lower depths of degradation, and the ruling classes grown insolent by

the exercise of unlimited authority for so many years, enervated by ill-gotten wealth and debauched by every crime known to a corrupt age, had brought about a necessary downfall to a once proud and noble government. On her ruins the hordes of barbarians planted their various state systems and attempted to enforce with rigid purpose the discipline that characterized them in the forests of Germany. They would gladly have obliterated, if possible, everything that belonged to the government which they had overthrown, and have established their own maxims and their own methods of carrying on the affairs of society. Everywhere the fair fields of Southern Europe fell under their control, and everywhere the air rang with the voice of a new authority. The time had come when it must be settled whether the gloom, characteristic of the ideas and manners of Northern Europe, should become universal over the old empire, and obliterate every vestige of that noble people whose career had now closed.

There were some things that could not be destroyed, at least it so proved. Among them were the forms and the ideas of Roman law which had grown almost sacred under their long use; another was the language of the people whose career had been characterized by such great brilliancy. Underlying the decaying forces of the empire and quietly transferring to itself some of the prerogatives that had been a distinguishing feature of the government of Rome, there was an organization, not counting for much in the estimation of the conquerors, but before which authority kings and powers of whatever name were destined to bow. This was the Church. Roman law and the Latin language could not have held their sway so effectually in Western Europe, had it not been for the power of the Church. She stood as a conservative force and held to common use for a long period of years both language and law, and made them acceptable and respected among the peoples whose disposition was to overthrow them. It was her strength behind and under these they brought them to the forefront among the barbarians. When, again, society was in its greatest turmoil and confusion, and petty kings were at variance with each other, and there was a necessity to seek some settlement for their difficulties, there

was no power so well poised and so adequate for the task as that of the Church. Her bishops and her clergy believed in the greatness of her mission, and if not recognized at once, they could well afford to wait for a suitable time in the settlement of the affairs of mankind. They showed in their manner a conviction of their importance that had its effect on the worldly powers around them. There were continued struggles for mastery among the rulers. Questions of right had to be settled by some authority. Among the temporal powers there was no code by which fair or authoritative decisions could be made; from the Church which claimed for itself the depository of the divine message, there was a voice sent forth which must be respected. In the settlement of difficulties there was a potency, and an administration of Roman law that created the impression that the great empire was still living. Says Milman: "The bishops gave laws to the city, which had so long given, and still to so great an extent gave, laws to the world. In the sentiment of mankind, at least in the West, Rome had never been dethroned from her supremacy."\* The same author says that it was idolatrous and pagan Rome which fell before the barbarians, leaving us to infer that there was a Rome that stood amid all the storms that beat against her in those perilous times. That was the power of the Church. Of the Popes Gibbon has said, "Their temporal power insensibly arose from the calamities of the times: and the Roman bishops, who have deluged Europe and Asia with blood, were compelled to reign as the ministers of charity and peace."† Any organization that has in it the force to make the nations of a continent look to it for law, order and instruction in moral and religious truths, cannot be classed among the ordinary institutions of society, nor is its power likely to be of short duration. All those struggles that took place in regard to Simony, Investitures and the right on the part of the bishops of appointing the inferior clergy, in which the papal authority came out victorious in almost every contest, resulted in making the governments more respectful toward the Church as an organization. In this way she was in-

\*Latin Christianity, Vol. I. 133    †Roman Empire, Vol IV., 423.



fluencing the plans and purposes of rulers and through them was molding the forms of government over which they exercised authority. This was not the work of a day. From the time that Clovis and Pepin accepted Christianity and received baptism, down through all the Carlovingian kings and their successors, the Church was really supreme in all their dominions. These rulers may not have been pious as we now reckon piety, but they were religious, and they saw to it that the people were instructed in the doctrines of the Church. So, little by little, did Christianity get sovereign and people to think of it in all their plans and policies, and thus mold the governments under which they lived.

The fact is, that the rulers of that day saw that it was impossible to govern their subjects without the agency of the Church, which institution added a weight of authority and dignity to all questions with which it had to do. With inherent powers of its own and with others gained from the ruins of the empire, it became an ally which every king courted and felt bound to respect because of its decisions and views which were usually founded on the principles of justice and equity. On account of its existence Europe had its development under the influence of divine truth and not under paganism. It was a logical result that the forms of government instituted and developed under such views should be largely molded by Christianity. Every constitution, whether written or unwritten, bears the marks of its origin under the broad and enlightened teachings of the Church. There may be a great lack in some of these instruments of those nobler qualities which we believe to be essential to the highest style of government. Yet that their average character is as good as we find it, is due to the fact that Christian morals were familiar to them for ages past and that Christian men insisted on the necessity for all states to recognize the principles of our holy religion.

III. The Church performed a special work in regard to education. All enlightened nations have ideas and methods of education. There was education long before the organization of the Christian Church and her influence as a factor in training the world. The Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans had

education which made them powerful and learned in their day. No nation could rise so high in philosophy, poetry, history and literature as did the Greek without thorough application to methods in training. But in the nations mentioned the patriarchal system largely prevailed. The father became the instructor of his son, or hired some one who might give him personal supervision and instruction, and he was willing to pay a good sum for the service. Among those whose means were ample there was no disposition to withhold the amount necessary to secure a thorough training for a son, in history, philosophy, mathematics and rhetoric. With the exception perhaps of the Jews, there was no nation which had anything corresponding to our college or University system in education. A teacher whose intellectual capacity was sufficient to attract pupils to him taught either in the market place, or in the grove, or in the porch of some temple, or in some retired locality that might suit his fancy. When he died his school disbanded, unless some pupil took up his work and continued his instruction. Thus we find Plato to be the exponent of Socrates, whose life and philosophy would have been lost to the world had not the former, with another pupil, Xenophon, given us his admirable account of them. The Roman had no permanent system of higher education; he depended also upon the Greeks for his education. The latter nation furnished a large class of schoolmasters to whom the Romans gladly came to learn the art of writing and speaking, and such other knowledge as might be thought useful to themselves. There was no model left by the Greeks and Romans that would form a true basis of our modern seats of learning. Nor was education widely diffused, as now, but its benefits were confined largely to those who belonged to the higher classes.

After the establishment of Christianity the necessity for the instruction of those who were in turn to be leaders in the Church made schools an important factor. Such were established at Alexandria, Antioch and elsewhere, but they, too, largely depended on the eminence of some bishop for their reputation and existence. They held together as long as some leading spirit stood at their head and gave an impulse to theological learning and such other subjects as might be useful to the priest among

the people. At the downfall of the Western Empire the university was yet to be born ; but the day of its advent was still far off. Centuries had yet to pass before its life was to begin ; a system must be originated that depended on no one man for its existence or perpetuity after its organization. Under the inspiration given by Charlemagne in France and Alfred in England, were started the Universities of Paris and of Oxford. These sovereigns wished their people to become educated, and they invited the most learned clergymen they could find to become headmasters of their schools. Mann says : "The clergy were the only educated class, for the lawyers had disappeared with the empire. The learning of the ecclesiastics made their aid and advice indispensable to monarchs unacquainted with the civilization of the Roman world, and brought into intercourse with states of whose history and polity they were almost entirely ignorant."\* Charlemagne was especially active in securing good instructors. He desired to revive literature and arts, and also to arouse the common clergy to greater study. Hence he imports Alcuin from England who lays the foundation of a great University. He saw to it that his teachers were properly supported. Both he and Alfred encouraged the gathering of libraries, and they induced rich men to endow their institutions with funds to make them useful and independent. Schools sprang up in all countries during the Middle Ages. At some of them as many as thirty thousand students gathered at one time for the purposes of learning. The Trivium and Quadrivium comprised the ordinary course of instruction, with law, medicine and theology as professional studies. Such a system of learning had never been thought of by the ancients ; it remained for the Church to organize it. She was inspired to it on account of her benevolent feeling toward the whole race. The road to learning was not now traveled as formerly, almost alone by the rich and noble in rank, but all classes came to the fountains and drank their fill of knowledge. Many a young man of lowly birth but of brawny brain came to the surface and was started on a career of honor to himself, and usefulness to the Church

---

\*Ancient and Mediæval Republics, 376.

and to his country. Certainly the nations of Europe have much to be thankful for to the Church for her service in the cause of education. To her belongs the credit of molding the forms of University life and training. She furnished the teachers, she sought endowments from the rich, she watched over the system and kept it from falling in untoward times. While she sometimes failed to give that wise direction which we can now see would have been for her glory and the value of the cause, we must still say that she did well to start those forces that have become so powerful and beneficial. The common school, the school for the masses, is the outgrowth of that system of education which began ages ago in the dark days of France, Italy and England. While our own age has broadened the field of thought and investigation in college and university life, it must not be forgotten that the seeds of it were sown centuries ago by the hands of those master kings, Charlemagne and Alfred, men thoroughly under the training and influence of the Church and whose labors and plans would have been futile, had it not been for the timely aid of members of the clerical profession. To the Church, there was committed the care of the rising plant which she had herself first suggested; she watered it with her tears, cultivated it by her labors and her prayers, and brought it through many adverse times to a period of great and marvelous prosperity.

IV. Through the Church was cultivated those principles which have found their expression in what is called International law. Among the conquerors of Rome, even as it had been with that government itself, a desire for anything was sufficient reason for its conquest. That Italy and all Southern Europe comprised a goodly land and fruitful for plunder were an ample inducement for invasion by the less favored peoples of the North. This spirit prevailed everywhere, and even now it has such power that with all the restraining influences that an enlightened age brings, it can with difficulty be brought within reasonable bounds. For many centuries after the Church had established her authority, rudeness toward others and a tendency to override the weaker nations prevailed, yet the leaven was at work that was destined to overcome to a great degree the desire for plun-

der and repine. Probably no growth of an important factor in affairs between nations was of such slow progress. The disposition to seize and hold that to which there was no legal right was so strong in the heart that it required centuries to overcome it. In the light of modern ideas concerning the relation of nations one with another, there is nothing that is so important as to leave each to work out its own destiny free from interference from others, save for the cause of humanity. But such enlightened views did not prevail in Mediæval times, yet the seeds of such a condition of society were sown and fostered by the Christian Church. Says Milman, "But external to and independent of the Imperial law and the constitutions of the new Western kingdoms was growing up the jurisprudence of the Church, commensurate with the Roman world, or rather with Christendom. Every inhabitant of the Christian empire, or of a Christian kingdom, was subject to this second jurisdiction."\* It was this almost universal jurisdiction that was laying the foundation for a more wise and humane relationship among the peoples of Europe.

The first step in this happy and beneficent movement was the common faith that was taught everywhere. Among the ancient nations the local duties peculiar to each made them enemies to each other rather than friends: to overturn the statues, plunder the temples and insult the reigning deity of another people was an object of pride and glory. There was no common religious feeling as when men worship the same God, but almost universal opposition and hostility prevailed. Even among the Greek nationalities where much more unity existed, and where a great council had its semi-annual assemblies to protect the religion of all, and in some measure bring peace and harmony to the entire land, there was found great difficulty in keeping the different elements at peace. Their religion was characterized by the worship of different gods, with varying degrees of importance in each community. It took a special revelation from Pan to the Athenians to secure his worship there, though he had long been the chief object of veneration in Arcadia. The national

---

\*Latin Christianity, Vol. 1. 542.

occupation and desires determined the choice of the deity whom they should worship.

But with the establishment of the Christian religion this diversity of worship was to a large degree overcome, and a movement toward unity necessarily followed. A common faith in God was the purpose of Christianity. The priests who went forth in the dark period of our era to teach the Gospel to the nations, had but one deity to uphold, one species of morals to impress, and one mode of salvation for all. Thus teaching and laboring they planted the seeds of a unity of fellowship and good feeling that were new among the nations. Why should those who professed the same belief, hoped in the same Saviour, and had the expectation of the same reward in the same kingdom, be enemies here and strive to wrest from each other their rights and their lands or other property? While such reasoning prevailed among the people, on the other hand the Church as an authoritative body, through its vested head, could stop wars and bloodshed, a thing that it did at times during that troublous period. The threatened curse, the blessing withheld, went far with kings and nations whose actions were often determined by the papal see. Now it was only the unity of a common faith that made these things possible. A universal religion established a bond of unity among the nations of Europe and gave the first impulse toward those better times that have now dawned upon a waiting world. There was now a basis upon which nations could stand together, and meet in a warlike attitude a common enemy. Such an occasion was offered in the days of the crusades. It was a new spectacle when the chief kingdoms of Europe could for awhile lay aside their animosities and engage in a common effort to wrest the holy Jerusalem from the hands of the infidel. It was, perhaps, the first dawn of consciousness to the Christian world that their religion made them, no matter of what nationality, brethren. With it came the reasoning that if they could enter into a common cause against their foe, they might also agree to stop aggressive war against each other and thus lessen the horrors which their lands were made to suffer by a disregard for their peculiar rights. Interchange now began to

spring up between the nations. Ambassadors and legates were sent now and then whose business it was to smooth over offences, offer restitution, and, if possible, avert the calamities and severities of war. Says ex-President Woolsey, "The spirit of Christianity, also—which indeed was at work in the origination of chivalry itself—did much to facilitate intercourse among men of a common faith, it stopped private wars, it opposed the barbarity of selling Christians as slaves, and introduced a somewhat milder treatment of captives taken in war; and it lent its sanction to all moral obligations."\* After speaking of the imposition of the Christian faith on the nations of the North by kings and saints, Gibbon remarked, "Yet truth and candor must acknowledge that the conversion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both as to the old and new Christians. The rage of war, inherent to the human species would not be healed by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace, and the ambition of Catholic princes has renewed in every age the calamities of hostile contention. But the admission of barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions. The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe."† Such are the testimonies in regard to the influence of the Church on the nations of Europe, from those who have made her darkest period a profound study. Private wars waged so cruelly between Chieftains whose territories adjoined each other and so often carried on for merely predatory purposes, under the influence of Christianity were stopped, and an impulse given toward forming combinations that resulted in greater peace and harmony. It was to the interest of the Church that the petty kingdoms should disappear and as many large nationalities as possible be formed. In this way, the causes for strife would be materially lessened, and the beneficent ministrations of the Church would have a larger field for their application. But

\*International Law, page 8.    †Decline and Fall, Vol. 5, 438.



the good results did not stop here. The motives for harmony and good will within the new governments now established, were also instrumental in securing the same condition between one another, and their influence has grown from century to century until the fraternal spirit now manifest everywhere among Christian nations has been evolved. To accomplish this, there was no force like that of the Church. Her teachings of brotherly love, her assertion of the unity of all mankind, her proclamation that the Gospel was for all alike, and her authority which she not only claimed for herself, but exercised when men and nations were restless and storm-tossed amid the sea of human strife, gave her a vantage ground in impressing herself upon the nations, under those forms of law, and in those rules and regulations by which they have agreed to conduct themselves toward one another for the peace and harmony of society.

V. There is another feature in which the Church largely influenced Modern Europe; it cultivated a life of hope for the accomplishment of things in this world, by holding up a good hope for the world to come. There is nothing more universally taught by the experience of society than this fact, that if you desire a community to be successful in its purposes, the element of hope must be predominant. In temporal affairs, if all hope of ultimate success is taken away, the spirit of labor is at once destroyed, and men become indifferent, and, in a measure, useless. It is only as they can see final gain that they will put forth their best efforts. The nearness of the reward and its security when once obtained are powerful factors in provoking the highest efforts of those who are engaged in toilsome labors. It is a well known fact that much of the degradation that is found among certain nations of the earth arises from the insecurity of property, and hopelessness in regard to human life. Under such circumstances men become despondent and comparatively useless to the state in which they live.

Now Christianity has in its very essence the tendency to cultivate an opposite spirit. It has in it a promise of something far better than merely worldly things. It has in it the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come. To the despondent laborer of Mediaeval Europe where worldly gains

were so likely to be taken from him in the depredations committed by invading armies, or insolent robbers, there was still held out to him the hope, that if he should lose all here, there was an inheritance that could not be taken away from him; "That if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" which would be his. He could say of the future,

"And there I shall be made whole of sorrow,  
Have no more care—  
No bitter thought of the coming morrow,  
Or days that were."

To the man animated with the hope of eternal life this world becomes a different thing from what it appears if this life is all. He can use it in the divine economy, and if he loses here he expects to gain yonder, and so he does not give up in despair. To the Crusader who believed that if he died in his effort to recover Jerusalem from the infidel, his title to a crown in heaven would be the more certain, life, or death, was immaterial. With such a hope all Europe was inflamed during the Middle Ages. The poor had the Gospel preached to them, the strong had its warnings and its teachings of human frailties sounded in their ears. By it both parties were brought nearer to each other in thought and purpose. In time the rights of the common people came to be regarded with greater respect. The risings of peasants in various countries seeking for more privileges, came from a better understanding of this class of their true dignity in relation to the affairs of state and society. The Gospel made them hopeful, hopefulness aroused their manliness, and this in turn led them to make their claims before parliaments and kings. Such everywhere is the effect of the Gospel on the human heart. It gives a spirit of expectation, it promises a life of peace in the end, it stirs to the highest ambition. How much the evolution of Modern Europe depended on the hopefulness inspired by the preaching of the divine word, no one can say, but that it urged on to greater activity in morals, that it helped to self-asserting manhood, and that it gave energy to that large body of people known as the common class, upon whom the prosperity of a

state so largely depends, there can be no doubt. The energizing power behind the vast surging mass that rises before us as we study the movements of the peoples of Europe, and which we see advancing from century to century in the accumulation of wealth and in the exhibition of dignity and hopefulness, until we are confronted with the stupendous results as seen in Europe to-day, was that of the Church instituted by our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

---

## ARTICLE IX.

### LUTHERANISM IN THE GENERAL SYNOD.

By PROF. E. J. WOLF, D. D.

A series of articles on Melanchthonian Lutheranism has recently appeared in the *Lutheran Evangelist*. They demonstrate conclusively that this school has had no stability, that Melanchthonianism has never been able to embody or to perpetuate itself in the form of a Church, and that every appearance of this Richtung, however favored by external circumstances, is followed soon either by a return to pronounced Lutheranism, or by a passing over into other churches.

The General Synod has been regarded by some as the synonym of Melanchthonian Lutheranism. Spurious friends and open assailants have vied with each other in making such a representation. The assumption is a false one. The assertion is a slander. Between the Melanchthonian Richtung and the General Synod there is a distinction as wide as that between the terms exclusion and inclusion. The former casts out from Lutheranism some of its elements, the latter accepts it in its integrity. In Europe Melanchthon himself began with the alteration of the X. Article, and his followers kept modifying until they espoused the Calvinistic theory. In this country the leaders of this school denied the Church's doctrine of the Eucharist and of Baptism. Dr. Schmucker taught that "there is no real or actual presence of the glorified human nature of the Saviour either substantial or influential." The biographer of Dr. Kurtz

says: "The doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration, and the real Bodily Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, he considered UN-SCRIPTURAL AND DANGEROUS." The theological institution founded by him forbade the teaching of Lutheran doctrine on these subjects. The Definite Platform forbade Synods to admit a minister holding articles IX. and X. of the Confession unless he pledged himself to hold them in silence.

Of all this there is not one syllable in the whole history of the General Synod from its organization to the present hour. It has never denied or rejected or modified a single article or tenet of the Lutheran faith; nor can it be shown that it ever took one step to develop or maintain a peculiar type of Lutheranism. Persons may speak of General Synod Lutheranism, or General Synod doctrines, or General Synod Lutherans, as if here we had something distinct from the Lutheran Church at large, but they have no warrant for such language. There is nothing in reality to correspond with such terms. The General Synod is no Lutheran sect cut off from the great Lutheran communion. It has pleased the fancy of some to imagine their own lack of Lutheran consciousness to be the genuine impersonation of the General Synod, but the idea betrays either the exaggerated conceit of one's relation to the body to which he belongs, or a total ignorance of its principles. Some have possibly so emphasized this sectarian idea that they stood ready to abridge the long title of General Synod Lutheran, content with the term General Synodist as sufficient to cover their denominational identity, and the enemies of the General Synod eagerly point to such as exponents of its Lutheranism, as proofs of its defection from the Church's faith. But such a view is in conflict with every deliverance and every official action of the General Synod, with its entire history and development.

Undeniably it has embraced in its bosom men who disavowed the peculiarities of the Church, who openly rejected its distinctive doctrines, men, too, whose influence was great and whose numbers were not inconsiderable, men who fain would have inscribed their views on the banner of the General Synod; but it is remarkable that, notwithstanding their numbers, influence and

aggressiveness they were never able to move the body from its firm position or to compromise its Lutheran character.

It is an error to speak of General Synod Lutherans as we speak of Cumberland Presbyterians or Reformed Episcopalians. The General Synod is a Lutheran organization, nothing more, nothing less. It accepts honestly and unqualifiedly the Augsburg Confession, the universal creed of Lutheranism. It was established, not to attack any part of the Lutheran Church or to antagonize any doctrinal phase or principle of it, but to unite all parts and sections and types into one harmonious whole; and it must be said to its glory that from this its fundamental position it has never swerved in its history of seventy years. It is set for the idea of one Evangelical Lutheran body. Its standard is the Augustana. Its weapon is the olive branch. Its watchword is Lutheran union. Hostility to any portion of the Church or to any doctrine or mark of the Church would be the denial of its cardinal principles. How could it ask Lutheran Synods to enter into union with it, if it rejected Lutheran doctrines? Its genius is comprehension. Its spirit is catholicity. Its motto is the same as that of the nation, *E Pluribus Unum*.

So far from repudiating any part of the Lutheran system one of the first conditions laid down by the founders was, "the General Synod has no power to make or to demand any alteration whatever in the doctrines hitherto received by us." A great deal of laxity prevailed at the time, but no Synod had rejected any Lutheran doctrine, and the only admissible interpretation of this clause is that the general body must forever remain true to the historic faith of the Church. Circumstances did not call for any confessional standard for the joint body. There had been no controversy. The family, having had no strife, no settlement of differences was demanded. But the family was becoming widely scattered, and there was danger of its different branches drifting away from the hearthstone. Hence the need of such an organization was felt in order to guard "against diversity in doctrine and practice, and to prevent discord and schism." This extract from the address issued in 1823 accords with the first paragraph of "the ground plan" proposed by the Pennsylvania Ministerium, which states that in view of the wide

extension of the Church "and as the members of said Church are anxious to walk in the spirit of love and concord, *under one rule of faith*, it appears to be the almost unanimous wish \* \* that a fraternal union of the whole Evangelical Lutheran Church in these United States might be effected by some central organization."

The union of the Church was the paramount object in view. Specific confessional demands beyond what was assumed as the "one rule of faith" conflicted with the immediate purpose, and might have thwarted the whole movement just as the assertion of executive power would have done. "A closer connection" was sought, "a closer union of all the Lutheran Synods," for the sake of coöperation in the upbuilding of the Church, and to attain this the body contented itself with advisory powers and proposed to act as a "joint committee of the special Synods."

The testimony of Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., on this point is peculiarly valuable, being given at the time he was writing *The Conservative Reformation* and when his friends were attacking the General Synod. Speaking of its organization he says: "It embraced elements which were distinctively Lutheran and others distinctively Latitudinarian. The first party was on the whole more Lutheran in doctrine and more active in piety than the second. Their relatively higher Lutheranism was connected with a relatively higher spirituality and aggressiveness. Though they had so far felt the evil tendency of the times that they fell far below the doctrinal decision and consistent Lutheranism of Muhlenberg and his co-laborers, yet they were relatively decided, relatively Lutheran, and their Lutheranism had something of the ardor and earnestness of that earlier time. It was their desire to make the General Synod as strong in government and as Lutheran in doctrine as they possibly could. The more decided Lutheran influence prevailed and the friends of the laxer tendencies dropped off." This is Dr. K's philosophy "of the tacit withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Synod," and it contradicts the insinuation that that was due to the want of sound Lutheranism in the General Synod.

In 1825 this body ordered the publication of a translation of Luther's Catechism and proceeded to establish a theological

seminary in which, it was provided, should be taught "the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures as contained in the Augsburg Confession." The oath of the first professor bound him to the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther "as a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God." In the charge at his inauguration in 1826 the Confession was commended to him as "a safe directory to determine upon matters of faith," and he was urged to uphold the individuality and integrity of the Lutheran system, and reminded that in the Church of Christ as in in nature "the different genera and species should be preserved according to their peculiar nature."

In 1831 it recommended the publication of a Lutheran Manual "to contain the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, with brief notes, in order to disseminate, as far as possible, the pure and salutary doctrines of the Lutheran Church." In 1835 it amended its constitution so as to require of synods to hold "the fundamental doctrines of the Bible as taught by our Church," a provision which in substance had been long before incorporated in the Formula of Government as a requirement made of candidates for the ministry.

While certain synods failed to unite with it and one soon receded from it, no antagonism on the score of Lutheran orthodoxy was broached, unless by the small company of the Tennessee Conference, and these brethren were continually urged to unite and were assured that "time and reflection would convince them that their opposition was founded on error." The General Synod continued to exchange greetings with the other bodies expressive of "feelings of the warmest friendship and interest." In 1827 it records its gratification that "the interests of piety and orthodoxy are faithfully defended by the Synod of Ohio." In 1833, moved by a resolution of that body which condemned "new measures" and declared the purpose to remain unalterably pure Evangelical Lutherans in doctrine, form and discipline, in accordance with the Bible and the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church," the General Synod adopted a Report deprecating these strictures on measures, but expressing its "gratifica-



tion that our brethren in Ohio are resolved to remain true to the ancient and fundamental marks of the Lutheran Church. For we are persuaded that fidelity to the faith and discipline of our fathers will not fail to perpetuate the purity of our doctrine and the prosperity of our Church."

This does not sound as if the General Synod proposed to develop a peculiar type of Lutheranism, or was hostile to those who hold firmly and rigorously to all the teachings of the Confessions. Its entire history is in accord with this, demonstrating invincibly the loyalty of its heart to the Lutheran faith and its steadfast purpose to serve as the medium for uniting the entire Church, and proving conclusively that it had neither consciousness nor purpose of having anything that would distinguish or separate it from other parts or bodies of the Lutheran communion.

The Pastoral Address of 1837 referring to the accession of the New York Ministerium adds: "We hail with joyful anticipations the day when every Lutheran synod in this land shall have united with the General Synod, when our Church shall have one universal centre." At the next convention in 1839 it adopted a Report which spoke in exulting terms of the Pennsylvania Synod and declared it would "hail the day, when that synod in the providence of God, shall become a member of this body." At the same convention a special committee was appointed "to open a correspondence with the companies of Lutherans recently arrived in the United States from Germany and represented by Dr. Charles Edward Vehse and the Rev. Mr. Stephan—the colony since become famous as "the Missourians." And Pastor Wynecken, who later became the president of that body, had for years served a congregation of the General Synod and was a member of at least one of its conventions.

The records of other bodies corroborate that of the General Synod. The Synod of Pennsylvania and that of Ohio sustained all along relations of practical coöperation, of strong and conspicuous sympathy with it, manifestly approving its doctrinal character, as well as its general spirit and grand aims. The missionary and education work of the church was substantially one, Pennsylvania supporting and patronizing the institutions at

Gettysburg, endowing a Professorship there, while the General Synod itself made urgent appeals to its constituents for the relief of the Columbus Seminary. And so there was a common Liturgy. The General Synod at its convention in 1839 directed its Committee on Liturgy "to coöperate with a committee of the Synod of Pennsylvania in preparing a uniform Liturgy for the Church." At the instance of its Committee it adopted in 1843 the German Liturgy of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and in 1845 it adopted an English translation of it, because it was "preëminently the Liturgy of the American Lutheran Church, springing from that portion of it which is the mother of us all," and because "a large portion of the Church, viz. the Synods of Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York" were already using the German edition.

Dr. S. S. Schmucker on the one side bears testimony to "the honorable manner in which the greater part of the brethren and churches in East Pennsylvania \* \* continued to afford their substantial and increasing aid to every good work undertaken by this Synod." And Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., on the other side, in May 1866 said "the relations of that [Pennsylvania] Synod to the General Synod were never antagonistic or unfriendly." In fact the General Synod so far from being regarded, or regarding itself a New Lutheran, or mongrel or Melancthonian body, whose principles were in conflict with the genius and character of historic Lutheranism, welcomed with great joy at Winchester, in 1853, the accession of the Pennsylvania and the Pittsburg Synods although both held advanced symbolic ground. Then it seemed as if its grand conception, its *raison d'être*, were about to be realized in the union of the whole Lutheran Church, all but the Tennessee and the Joint Synod of Ohio and the newly arrived foreigners having rallied to its standard.

And when now in a number of conventions the counsels of the General Synod were shaped by such men as Krauth, Passavant, Krotel, B. M. Schmucker, S. K. Brobst, Greenwald and C. W. Schaeffer, and when C. F. Schaeffer and F. A. Muhlenberg were Professors at Gettysburg, no public hint was ever given that these staunch and unqualified Lutherans were out of place, or that an alien element had intruded into the General Synod

Their presence was doubtless unwelcome to some, but no one had the hardihood to claim that the General Synod's position was not broad enough to include them, or that in receiving them its historic principles had been violated or changed. They were not in the General Synod by tolerance. They were in the house of their fathers. There was mutual satisfaction and rejoicing especially over the union of the venerable Synod of Pennsylvania, and it is noteworthy that the only condition under which this Synod came in was that the General Synod should hold by its constitution. No demand was made for a change of its historic doctrinal character. It was not regarded in any other light than as an out and out Lutheran body.

The Definite Platform which appeared anonymously a few years later, instead of being accepted as a faithful expression of the General Synod's character, was indignantly repudiated by a number of district Synods, their judgment being voiced in the resolutions prepared by Dr. J. A. Brown and adopted unanimously by the Synod of East Pennsylvania, which denounced it as a "most dangerous attempt to change the doctrinal basis and revolutionize the existing character of the Lutheran churches now united in the General Synod." The General Synod, it was successfully maintained, stood for the complete faith of the Church and could countenance no mutilation of it.

But as there were evidently two parties in the body, a laxer and a stricter, one deprecating the growth of Lutheran conviction, the other promoting it, and as the sharp antagonisms excited between the two culminated in the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Synod's delegates at York in 1864 and the subsequent organization of the Council, is it not the logic of history that since that time, the General Synod, freed from the pressure of the Confessional elements, entered upon a new path, and pursued a course of development which sharply distinguishes it from all other Lutheran bodies?

The facts of history show exactly the reverse of this. One might imagine that when Krauth and Seiss and men of that school were out, the General Synod would at once plunge into radicalism and liberalism to an extent that must separate it as far as possible from "Symbolic Lutheranism." But instead of

such a departure from its historic position, it at once planted itself more firmly upon the Confession of the Church. Its doors had hardly closed upon the Pennsylvania delegates when it took advanced Lutheran ground, so amending its basis as to remove every pretext for the charge of doctrinal laxity. The imputations of unsoundness now to be raised, the General Synod promptly anticipated by an unequivocal acceptance of Lutheran doctrines, requiring henceforth in its constitution the district Synods to "receive and hold with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers \* \* the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine word, and of the faith of our Church."

The delegation of the Pennsylvania Synod did not include the whole of the strict Lutheran element. A large proportion of the other delegates held as heartily and fully as they to the whole Lutheran faith. And instead of inviting all these "Old" Lutherans to follow those with whom they were in sympathy, the General Synod did all in its power to prevent their going and to avert further defection. It passed a series of resolutions relating to the charges of alleged errors on the Sacraments in the Augsburg Confession, closing with the solemn attestation, "Before God and his Church we declare, that the Augsburg Confession, properly interpreted, is in perfect consistence with this our testimony and with the Holy Scriptures as regards the errors specified." So far from rejoicing that those of a more positive Lutheranism were likely to leave the body, it adopted another series of resolutions in which it declared explicitly that the action quoted above was taken "with a view of checking the tendency to disintegration amongst us, and uniting us more firmly in fraternal union."

This certainly does not indicate that the General Synod was resolved from henceforth to develop an independent *Richtung*, a revised, American, Puritanic type of Lutheranism. The large number of conservatives representing the New York, Pittsburg and other synods evinced no fear of any such new departure. And the Pennsylvania Synod itself was so well satisfied with the Lutheran status and the manifestations of a sound Lutheran consciousness, that so far from gladly converting the withdrawal

of its delegates into an act of final separation, it promptly adopted the proposed amendments to the constitution sent down to it by the General Synod, regarding them as "conservative churchly action." And, as further proof that it was content still to remain in full communion with that body, it elected a full delegation to the next Convention at Fort Wayne.

It has been claimed on both sides that the rupture which began at York and was completed at Fort Wayne was the result of doctrinal differences, the strict Lutherans leaving the General Synod, the Melancthonians remaining, those leaving the General Synod holding strictly to the faith, those remaining holding to it loosely or even rejecting portions of it. A division on that line the extremists of neither the one side nor of the other would have dared to advocate, nothing of the kind was publicly mooted, and neither party could have faced their constituents on such an issue. Let those who make this charge pause to consider the degree of hypocrisy they are imputing to the leaders of that contest on both sides. A parliamentary ruling which *per se* may or may not have been justifiable, excluded the Pennsylvania delegates until the body properly organized should be able to determine the relations of their Synod to the General Synod. The President's ruling was the occasion for a three day's debate, when it was sustained. But this was immediately followed by a resolution expressing "the entire willingness" of the General Synod to receive these delegates, and a formal request that they should waive the apparent irregularity and "acquiesce in the present organization." And so jubilant was the convention over "this favorable disposal of the subject" that "the whole body rose and engaged in heartily singing the doxology." Was all this only diplomacy? Manœuvring for position? At a later session the Pennsylvania delegates declared themselves "willing to coöperate in the General Synod," provided this body would admit that their synod had "the constitutional right to be represented before the election of officers," etc., *i. e.* claiming their right as an integral part of the family. On this condition they declared themselves ready "to take our seats in this body, equals among equals,"—in a body that had seated the Francke-

ans. To this demand the General Synod declined to accede and disintegration ensued. That the Pennsylvania Synod itself was still satisfied with the doctrinal soundness of many synods composing the General Synod, is evinced by the address which it sent to them asking them to unite with it in a new organization. No one held as yet that the conflicting elements had separated.

Whatever changes or developments have since then taken place within the General Synod, in seminary teaching and congregational practice, have undeniably been in the direction of positive Lutheranism. The contrast offered by a quarter of a century is marvelous.

A few competent witnesses are here adduced in confirmation of the historical claims of this paper. Dr. Krauth, Jr., testifies that by the doctrinal basis imposed on the district synods, and the previous adoption of Luther's Catechism "without qualification," and the definition of fundamentals in the Liturgy of 1847, "the General Synod's Lutheran soundness is fully vindicated."

At the second Lutheran Diet in Philadelphia, 1878, Dr. A. Martin of the General Council, in his Essay on Confessional Subscription, says of the General Synod's subscription, "The more we consider these words '*receiving and holding with the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS,*' etc., the more we are persuaded that their natural import is an *unqualified* subscription to the Augsburg Confession, and declares that all the *doctrinal* articles of the Augustana are fundamental, and it legitimately and logically implies an endorsement of all the other confessions." On the following morning Dr. Hay of Gettysburg arose and said, "I was delighted to hear Prof. Martin, in his excellent essay, so highly applauding the General Synod's methods of subscribing the Confessions. And my delight was greatly increased when my old classmate and bed-fellow, Dr. Krauth, heartily endorsed the positions taken by Prof. Martin. It begins to look as if the Lutheran millennium were just at hand. The only qualification that I understand Prof. M. to make to this endorsement of the General Synod's doctrinal platform was this that, while it is all right in itself and according to its plain meaning, it is capable of being wrongly interpreted. Mr. Chair-

man, we must wait a long time for a platform of which that cannot be said."\*

In the Allentown Church Case Drs. Brown and Hay both testified that the General Synod and the Synod of East Pennsylvania had "no spirit of antagonism" to the Pennsylvania Ministerium. Dr. Valentine in the *Luth. Observer*, Mar. 6th, 1891, says of the General Synod, "It stands for the principle of union in *generic and catholic Lutheranism on the great historic Confession of Augsburg*. \* \* \* It represents both the distinctiveness and comprehension or breadth of Lutheranism, at once true to its essential and characterizing teaching and life, and giving room and freedom to all in the unessential diversities that have marked its true history. Its basis is not reduced and restricted into *the mould of any particular type*, as found here or there in our great Church, but provides for the union and free coöperation and fellowship of all upon the ground of what is common to all."

The idea, then, which is mooted in some quarters, that the General Synod is a peculiar development of Lutheranism or a development of peculiar Lutheranism, is contradicted by its whole history and by the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses alike from its own bosom and from the bosom of its adversaries. To claim for it distinctive features which separate it as a sect from the great Lutheran body, to aim at imprinting on it a sectarian character by having, say, a special version of the Apostles' Creed, or a special punctuation of it, a peculiar worship,

\*It was intimated sometime ago by a writer in the General Council that the Common Service was in some way equivalent to the Confessional basis of that body. A writer in the General Synod, evidently on the watch for something to catch at, quickly snatched at the suggestion, giving that as a decisive reason for rejecting the Service. As he is a logician, this claim of Dr. Martin, which so much gratified Dr. Hay, must be to him a sufficient reason for repudiating the Augsburg Confession. But the idea which has called forth these editorial exploits is such a patent absurdity as to compel the conclusion that both writers were amusing themselves watching the gullibility of their readers. The relation between a church's Confessional basis and an order of Service is about the same as that between the foundation wall of a church and its altar furniture.



or a modified catechism, or any other mark that will make it a speckled bird, unlike all other Lutherans, is not only a novelty in its history, but a repudiation of the principles to which it owes its organization and which have most consistently characterized it for two generations.

Any action calculated to isolate or estrange it from other Lutheran bodies would belie every deliverance and profession the General Synod has ever made. It would be a proclamation of war in place of the familiar, stereotyped overtures of peace. It would be an open declaration for the permanent division of Lutherans, instead of its constant appeal for a united church. In short, the effort to side-track the General Synod off from the great highway on which 47,000,000 Lutherans are marching, would be a high-handed betrayal of its principles, one more "bold attempt to revolutionize its existing character," and an insufferable wrong to all its adherents whose hearts beat in unison with the great heart of Lutheranism.

What this would cost as a missionary policy, let those contemplate who would drive the General Synod from its historic principles. Send a brave Home Missionary into a frontier town where twenty families are desirous of having a Lutheran Church. Fifteen of them come from the Missouri and Ohio Synods and the General Council, two from the church South, and three from the General Synod, a proportion not uncommon. Let the missionary from the start honestly proclaim that the General Synod stands entirely aloof from all these "high-church" and "hyper-Lutheran" bodies, and then proceed to gather in the various Lutherans!! Such a policy would have made the magnificent results at San Francisco impossible. Proclaim such a policy, and Wichita with a number of other most promising openings becomes hopeless.

To be a Lutheran of the General Synod, be it noted, has never been accepted as implying of necessity that a man is weak in the faith, that he holds to Lutheranism loosely and indifferently. The strongest kind of Lutheranism is not only consistent with connection with this body, it may reasonably be expected. Its members are under no bonds to keep within certain limits. It

offers no barrier to the extremest type of Lutheranism. The genius of the General Synod begets love and sympathy for the whole Church, and joy over the prosperity of every part. It reaches out the hand of fellowship to every Richtung, and in the nature of things such sentiments develop the strongest, the fullest, the most decided, the most devoted Lutheranism. He has the true spirit of the General Synod whose heart goes out to all Lutherans, and not he who wants nothing to do with any who walk not with him.

The General Synod is set against sectarianism, above all against Lutheran sectarianism. It is the enemy of no Lutherans except such as foment division. Its adherents claim to be better Lutherans because they have at heart the union and coöperation of all. This is the positive idea for which it stands. It is not given to negations. It condemns no doctrine, it rejects no principle, it discards no feature, which bears the impress of the Lutheran Church. It has never denied the Lutheran definition of the church as the communion of saints, or Christ's triumphant descent into Hell, or the efficacy of Baptism, or the Real Presence, or the oral Reception, nor has it ever condemned the Church Year or liturgical worship. Doubtless there are those in its bounds who repudiate one or more of these points, but personal views are not the creed of the General Synod.

But here an unfriendly critic will interpose, if the fundamental principle and single aim of the General Synod is to compass the union of the Lutheran Church, it has notably failed. We reply that complete success is seldom attained in this world, that the General Synod came one time very nearly realizing the noble purpose of its existence, and for a long time it has held 23 Synods in remarkably harmonious unity, that temporary failure of a cause is no proof of its unsoundness and that it has not only not been left behind by any other movement for Lutheran union but has been the impelling cause of all such movements.

Again the relative failure of the General Synod lies not at the door of any action or utterance of the General Synod itself, nor in its impregnable principles. The greatest drawback to its full success has come from some of its would-be representatives. The proverb "a man's foes shall be they of his own household"

has its application here. The trouble is not with the basis of the General Synod, but with the unsightly, monstrous deformities which men have sought to pile on it. They have built upon this foundation stacks of wood, hay and stubble, that have completely covered and concealed it and given to the public a gross misconception of its true character.

They have even taken advantage of its liberal position to make attacks upon Lutheran doctrine. The tolerance they enjoyed in holding un-Lutheran views they have converted into intolerance of Lutheran views. Weak themselves in the faith they cannot bear the fellowship of a more decided faith. True to the spirit of "liberalism," liberty is to them power to crush the freedom which differs from them.

There always have been Melancthonians in the body and their restlessness and discomfort find vent in attacks upon whatever is historically and distinctively Lutheran. Even quite recently such attacks have been made upon publications of the General Synod whose only offence is that they teach undisguised and unadulterated Lutheran doctrine. One writer cut a slice from the heart of Luther's Catechism and held it up to abhorrence as a specimen of the Provisional Catechism and as an argument for its rejection, and he received neither correction nor reproof from a paper professedly devoted to the principles of the General Synod.

The ambition of such anti-Lutherans to be recognized as the simon-pure representatives of the General Synod is eagerly gratified by its enemies. Whenever the latter wish to renew their assaults on it, the former supply them with all the ammunition they want. But for such hostility to Lutheran doctrine on the part of individuals within it, but for such misrepresentations of the General Synod which are spread abroad openly and secretly and persistently, it would doubtless embrace to-day the whole Scandinavian element, which had originally united with it and which is still in thorough sympathy with its liberal spirit. So doubtless to these same false friends we can credit the alienation of almost the entire German element, for on reaching our shores the Germans are more in accord with the General Synod's position than with any other. It is his experience with in-

dividuals who say that they are Lutherans and are not, that leads the honest German to seek some other ecclesiastical home.

The General Synod has sustained incalculable injury from those whose dim vision has mistaken the olive-branch on its escutcheon for a sword. Instead of showing the irenic temper and the conciliatory spirit characteristic of this body, they imagine that its life depends upon unintermittent and uncompromising warfare against all bodies which hold with greater strictness to the Lutheran system. They feel so nervous about the General Synod's basis, they have apparently so little faith in its stability, that in their mind, it is sure to topple over, unless it be made a barricade from behind which they can keep up a rattling fire against all other Lutherans. Such an attitude belies its entire history, but if the ignorant or unfriendly argue from this its hostility to true Lutheranism, the General Synod can thank some of its doughty warriors for such a conclusion. If only all its adherents knew how immovable is the General Synod's basis, how needles of defense, and if all would but earnestly build upon this foundation a system of doctrine and practice consistent with it, there would be no occasion, no excuse for any other English Lutheran body. There could not be found a corporal's guard to form one. If the ministers, professors, writers and editors of the General Synod, were to a man true to its Confessional principles, its assailants would soon find their occupation gone. Its basis, be it understood, is not an impassable wall of separation from all other Lutherans, but a platform on which to build up Lutheranism.

Most detrimental, too, is the course of those who whilst always protesting their unqualified acceptance of Lutheran doctrine, manifest a singular dread of believing too much of it, or of believing too strongly. They are in mortal terror of positive or decided Lutheranism. A minimum of it will do, but when it comes to the maximum— They treat Lutheran doctrine as the druggists handle poison, with extreme caution. Anything more than a homeopathic dose is highly dangerous. Lutheranism in a mild or diluted form, rendered harmless by an infusion of Calvinism, is well enough, but the pure, unadulterated article raises a spectre before their affrighted eyes, which spectre must

at all hazards be downed. The alarm is again raised of danger to the General Synod's position. Some one's inverted vision makes this basis, which is really as firm as an Egyptian pyramid, stand on its apex, and it will certainly fall over, it is feared, if much solid Lutheranism be crowded upon it.

Well, if the General Synod's basis is so contracted that it cannot hold those who accept out and out the doctrines of their Church, or if it has been broad enough to hold any number of Melancthonians, invertebrates and non-descripts, but now gives way under the pressure of Lutherans whose lineaments and spinal column bear the unmistakable stamp, then its whole history is a continuous fraud, and every pretension and profession a snare and a delusion. It would be well if those who cry "Symbolist," "Old Lutheran," "Council," etc., etc whenever they scent outspoken and unambiguous Lutheran doctrine, were to stop long enough to decide whether their course is a defence of the principles of the General Synod or a defiance of them.

The latest and most startling innovation yet mooted is the idea that the General Synod must set itself against whatever other Lutheran bodies approve. The fact that some of the teachings in its publications are acceptable to men in the General Council has given great offense in some quarters. That is enough to condemn such publications. Anything that tends to remove misunderstandings among Lutherans, any utterance of explicit Lutheran doctrine that might bring us nearer together, must be stamped under foot. And this is called catholic Lutheranism!! A spirit that proscribes men with positive Lutheran convictions while it is found sympathizing with those whose opposition to Lutheran doctrine is notorious, this spirit claims to be broad, liberal, catholic! And the adversary is emboldened to charge "there is the General Synod for you." No doubt the adversary chuckles over such proposals to interdict Lutheran teaching and practice. What a shaft it puts into his hands!

Certainly those in the General Synod who propose that it shall taboo whatever is acceptable to Lutherans in other bodies, have sadly lost the spirit of our fathers who were wont to hail every symptom of a nearer approach among Lutherans.

A striking example of this change of front is seen in the

effort to stir up prejudice against the Common Service on the score that it is substantially what has been in use for some years in a sister body. The General Synod was so pleased with its merits that it unanimously adopted it, and it has received nothing but praise from eminent divines of other churches who have examined it, but when the discovery was made of Council churches having already used something similar to it, that was enough to condemn it.

Our fathers in 1843, men like Drs. Schmucker, Kurtz, Ezra Keller, etc., adopted a liturgy *because* it was already in use in the Synod of Pennsylvania and that of Ohio—that was to them sufficient recommendation for it, and men forget, though it is but six years since, that the General Synod agreed to adopt this service *provided the other Lutheran Bodies did*, and that it was finally authorized at Omaha to be published because the Committee could assure the General Synod that the other two bodies had unanimously adopted it. The extent to which this change has gone in some minds can be measured in the case of one writer who twenty years ago on examining the Church Book of the Council urged its adoption by the General Synod and could “see no reason why we should not all sing out of the same book.” Now the same writer is seized with horror at the thought of any General Synod church repeating the introits, chants and collects of the ages “out of the same book” with the Council and the United Synod. To him it is nauseating to have Jews and Samaritans drink out of the same cup from the wells of salvation.

Never can the writer forget the saddest exhibition of such a spirit he has ever heard of. It was a communion season. The families of two brothers who had had a quarrel occupied adjoining pews. Those in the rear pew came forward to the altar, but just then they observed the other family approaching, and at once they wheeled, returned toward their seat and actually left the house, slamming the door as they went out.

One more cause of the comparative failure of the aim of the General Synod is its neglect of its immigrant brethren. Whatever resolutions may have been passed, or spasmodic efforts recorded, the fact is too notorious to be denied, the great majority

have had but little heart for the work among Germans and Scandinavians. With some of the noblest representatives of this element firmly attached to its principles and laboring earnestly in harmony with the native element, they have been left to struggle and to suffer in a way hardly calculated to bind them indissolubly to the fortunes of this body.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages which have blocked the way of the General Synod, its outward progress has been cheering; its inward course has tended steadily toward a more positive Lutheran consciousness. It can boast of promoting this in many ways, and unless wrested from its historic position it will continue to promote it. It has always had the essence of Lutheranism in its heart, and this essence has such power and vitality that it is sure to assert a development. It led the Church in the acknowledgment of its Confession and Catechism. It founded the institutions which made an English Lutheran Church possible in this country, and it was the medium of bringing the church into public recognition. With all the reproach heaped upon Gettysburg, it has been to the Lutheran Church what it has been to the nation. It sent forth the translation of Schmid's Dogmatics, a work that has done more than any other cause to bring our ministers to the understanding and belief of Lutheran doctrine, and from it too has gone forth into all branches of the church almost every native-born representative of sound Lutheranism.

And if after the removal of all misconceptions, for which the General Synod has friends and foes to thank, the latter will still deride its purpose to effect a union of the Lutheran Church, the General Synod can at least afford to hold its position until it sees others achieve a more dazzling success. And while the writer is no prophet and does not speak for others, he dares to say that whenever the Council and the Missourians, Ohio, Iowa, Buffalo, the Norwegians and the United Synod shall have coalesced into one harmonious body on any other basis, there is nothing in the principles of the General Synod to keep it from joining this body.



## • ARTICLE X.

## REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

TUTTLE, MOOREHOUSE AND TAYLOR, NEW HAVEN.

*The Philosophical Works of Leibnitz.* Comprising The Monadology, New System of Nature, Principles of Nature and of Grace, Letters of Clarke, Refutations of Spinoza, and his other important philosophical Opuscles, together with the Abridgment of the Theodicy and extracts from the New Essays on Human Understanding: Translated from the original Latin and French. With Notes by George Martin Duncan, Instructor in Mental and Moral Philosophy, Yale University. pp. 392. 1890.

The writings of Leibnitz formed an epoch in the history of philosophy. By his depth and brilliancy as an original thinker, and his scholarly breadth and force, he gave a new direction to German metaphysics and impressed himself permanently on the development of philosophy and science. This makes some acquaintance with the writings necessary to teachers and students of philosophy. Leibnitz never gave in a single work a complete systematic representation of his philosophical doctrines. A volume giving, in English, selections from his various works, suitable for furnishing a just view of his teaching has been greatly needed. The need has been admirably met in the work which Instructor Duncan has here supplied. The selections have been judiciously made, so as to afford a satisfactory survey of Leibnitz's system of thought, and the translation is clear and flowing. The volume is a valuable addition to our philosophical literature. M. V.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

*The Prevailing Types of Philosophy. Can They Logically Reach Reality.* By James McCosh, LL. D., Litt. D., Ex-President of Princeton College. 1890. pp. 66. Price 75c.

Dr. McCosh represents among us the best features of the Scotch Philosophy. Recognizing both the truth that belongs to Intuitionism and that which belongs to Empiricism, he teaches and defends a philosophical view which, in perhaps unsurpassed fairness, acknowledges and correlates all the facts in the philosophical problem. It is a philosophy that becomes a natural ally and support to the great verities and teachings of Christianity. It is in the profoundest and best sense realistic.

The specific object of this little book is to show that *Reality* is not reached or known as a conclusion from a process of reasoning, but is reached and known immediately by consciousness and perception. It is

directly and intuitively discerned in our fundamental cognitions, and is conditional, like all self-evident truths, for all the discursive processes. No demonstration can give it in the end except as it assumes it in the beginning of its reasoning. Reality is the correlate of all knowing, the very essence of knowing being the fact that it cognizes reality.

Dr. McCosh rightly protests against the Agnosticism that doubts or denies the possibility of knowing Reality because this cannot be proved by the process of logic, and plunges men into skepticism by directing them to look for the proof at the wrong place and in an impossible way. Like all self-evident or axiomatic truths, above proof as above disproof, it is a *primary original datum* of the cognitive power. The true procedure is, instead of trying to prove reality, to show that we are entitled to assume it, and *must* assume it to have the materials for reasoning to any solid conclusions whatever.

The prevalence of the agnostic *virus* in the speculative thinking of our day makes it exceedingly important that such teaching as that of this small volume should have a wide hearing.

M. V.

*History of the United States of America.* During the Second Administration of James Madison. By Henry Adams. Vol. I, II. and III. pp. 417, 385, 369.

These three volumes bring to a close what competent critics pronounce "the Best History of the United States" ever written so far as it goes. The nine volumes of the set extend only from the beginning of Jefferson's Administration to the close of Madison's. Possibly on no other period of our national life is ignorance so general and so dense as on these sixteen years of struggle, disaster and disgrace, and for this reason alone, Mr. Adams is entitled to special thanks from the American public, even if his work were marked by a lower literary grade or possessed less historic excellence than it does.

It is not a heroic age with which he has to deal, and with the details of diplomatic negotiations, Indian campaigns, butcheries under the name of war, dearth of statesmen and national bankruptcy, the wonder is that he could have produced a readable work. It is, however, not only readable but entertaining and very instructive to the student of our political history, for the development of those two administrations, unedifying as the cold facts are, contributed without doubt an incalculable momentum to the progress of our institutions and the advancement of our national power to its present pinnacle.

Pennsylvanians will read in the VII. volume with more or less pride how, while Virginia was always concerned for the elevation of her great men to the presidency, "Pennsylvania cared more for interests than for men," and accordingly sacrificed Gallatin at a time when she might easily have secured the succession for him, not only because he was the

favorite of Madison, the fittest man, the oldest, ablest and most useful member of the executive government, but also because he represented Pennsylvania; and if any state in the Union had the power to select a president it was she.

The author's judgment of men and parties is certainly independent, and sometimes sufficiently severe, as in the case of Armstrong, to excite a fear of injustice, but when an Adams excoriates New England for its conduct during a crisis in which the government was on the verge of extinction, the presumption is that truth is to him paramount to every other consideration. In respect to a Pharisaism that is not yet extinct in that quarter, it must have required some nerve to republish a resolution passed by the Senate of Massachusetts in 1813 while the government was engaged in a death struggle with England: "Resolved, as the sense of the Senate of Massachusetts, that in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause, and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defense of our sea-coast and soil." This Mr. Adams himself interprets as meaning that they as "a moral and religious people" separated from the common stock.

A number of maps and plans are given in the body of the work and a voluminous Index to the whole is appended to the ninth volume.

E. J. W.

HUNT AND EATON, NEW YORK.

*The Sibylline Oracles.* Translated from the Greek into English Blank Verse, by Milton S. Terry, Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. 1890. pp. 267. Price \$1.50.

Prof. Terry has done a good service in making these pseudepigraphical books accessible to English readers. The old version of Floyer has long been out of print, and at any rate contained only eight of the twelve books now forming the collection. The Greek text in which these writings have come down to us is in a very corrupt state, mutilated in many places, and very unsatisfactory. The translation—in the form of heroic blank verse, as best representing to English readers the spirit of the Greek hexameters—appears to be well made, the effort being not so much to present fine poetry as to give an accurate rendering.

The importance of these writings is not to be estimated by their intrinsic value—which is indeed very small—but by their historical place and the use that was made of them in the early Church. Though they are now known to be spurious, the production of Jewish and Christian writers, so-called "pious frauds," put forth (probably from B. C. 170 to A. D. 400) as if they were the utterance and testimony of the heathen Sibyls, much use was made of them by the early Christian apologists, as if they were divine prophecies. So frequently did apologists ap-

peal to, them that Celsus stigmatized them as "Sibyllists." Some of the Church Fathers, however, as Irenaeus and Cyprian, fail to take any account of them.

The translator has prefixed an introduction of explanatory matter sufficient for the ordinary reader. A summary of the contents of each of the Oracles or books, is given at its beginning, and foot-notes are furnished to help in understanding the various allusions. The "*Anonymous Preface*" which belongs probably to the sixth century, and the *Proem* fragment found in the writings of Theophilus of the second century, are also given. Altogether the volume forms for the English reader the best available source for an understanding of these old pseudographs.

M. V.

*My Journey to Jerusalem.* Including Travels in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Palestine and Egypt. By Rev. Nathan Hubbell. With 64 Illustrations. pp. 311.

The title would naturally lead one to expect much about Jerusalem, but only about forty pages are devoted to that city. Perhaps, however, the interest of the reader is better sustained by the cursory and more superficial accounts of all the places visited, than by the full details of only one, however conspicuous and important that may be. Mr. Hubbell impresses us more as a man of some brightness than as a man of learning, and as having not a little confidence in his plans for settling some questions that have vexed leading minds for many years. He presents them, too, in a very summary way. For example, he brushes away the "cobwebs of the free-trade delusion" in a short paragraph, and in less than a page tells how to suppress the Belfast riots (pp. 28 and 84). He closes with expressions of appreciation for our own country, such as lecturers on foreign travel usually give as a peroration, and which usually delight an American audience. It is a book well adapted for youthful readers, and will likely hold their attention throughout.

*Scripture Selections for Daily Reading.* A portion of the Bible for Everyday in the Year. Compiled by Rev. Jesse L. Hurlbut, D. D., author of "Outline Normal Lesson," "Studies in the Four Gospels," "A Manual of Biblical Geography," etc. pp. 433.

To those who do not read the Bible consecutively, either privately or at family prayers, this will prove just what is needed. The selections are taken both from the Old and New Testament, and are most judiciously made. We have used the book a month or more at family prayers, and like it. It is printed in large type and the selections are about the right length. The subject of each one is given as well as the book, chapter and verses where it may be found in the Bible.

THOMAS WHITTAKER, NEW YORK.

*Reason and Authority in Religion.* By J. Macbride Sterrett, D. D.

The echoes of that recently published work of the Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England, "*Lux Mundi*," are beginning to be heard. The first distinct echo that has come to our ears is the book before us. It is not from far away. The doctrines presented can be readily guessed by those who have read "*Lux-Mundi*." It is an application of the Hegelian philosophy to the history of the Church; and through that application is sought the true and only ground of authority in religion. The Bible as such a ground, reason as such a ground and even the Church, deciding arbitrarily and of itself, as such a ground are one after the other put aside; yet being within the Church, using the Bible as the Church gives it to us and applying to the Bible the criticisms of reason, we somewhere find the ground desired, not in any one of the three, nor yet in a combination of the three, but *somewhere*—exactly where the reader will have to learn, if he can, by a perusal of the book.

The influence of Hegel is much more distinctly felt, his *dicta* are more frequently quoted than those of Moses, or of Paul, or even of Christ, and are decidedly more deferred to, those of Moses and Paul and, shall we not say of Christ? being antiquated. All religions antedating Christianity were in their measure from the Spirit of God, leading up to the Incarnation. Christianity is the religion of the Incarnation. All that is real is true—is true at least for those to whom it is real. The myths and fables, etc., of the Old Testament were true for the people of that dispensation. The crude beliefs of the apostles and early Christians were true for them. The doctrines of temporal supremacy and that paganism must be overcome by force were true in the middle centuries of our own dispensation. Since the Reformation the doctrines of Inspiration, etc., have been true. None of these things may be exactly true for us, or true for us in the same sense as they were true in the ages gone. However something is true also for us, something remains, exactly what beside the Church we shall again have to refer the reader to the book itself to learn. Institutional Christianity, finding a unity in the apostolic succession, the divine reason for that succession being in order that in the midst of such changes and diversities unity might be preserved and be manifest, is in any case the most important outcome of the world's history. No man can hope for good except as he is a member of some form of instituted Christianity.

And yet the author is liberal, is even inconsistently charitable. He makes only two adverse criticisms of the book "*Lux Mundi*;" it is un-Hegelian to be so "insular" as its writers are, ignoring the Churches of other lands, the State Church of Germany and the Churches of America; and it is without a Hegelian warrant to undertake to reproduce so much as they do of ancient Catholic liturgies and rituals, which he goes so far in one instance as to characterize as "rubbish."

The book is able, not wanting in profound thought and forcible expression. Occasionally it suggests some truths that deserve more consideration than they are receiving. But over it all hangs a mist, an exaggerating, distorting fog. One has to stop and peer too long to see the meaning, if one can, of frequently recurring phrases, such as, "a free necessity," "progressive stationary forms," etc.

Were a man in the actual work of the ministry to answer the average inquirer as advised in this book, we submit that he might as well not answer him at all. Says Dr. Sterrett, "To the doubting and harrassed Christian asking what *must* I believe as to many traditional and current conceptions, we may answer: Believe them only so far as, from a study of their history, you can see them to be necessary implications of the doctrine of the Incarnation. Take them at a relative rationality, as more or less harmonious with the general Christian sentiment."

In the second half of the book the recent work of Dr. James Martineau on "The Seat of Authority in Religion" is examined and used to set forth the truth and enhance the effect of the teachings of "*Lux Mundi*." What is said of Dr. Martineau's book is generally excellent. An equally just judgment of the writings of Dr. Gore and his companions would have made the volume before us a valuable addition to current criticism.

J. K. D.

FUNK AND WAGNALLS, NEW YORK.

*The Light of the World*, or Great Consummation. By Sir Edwin Arnold, author of "The Light of Asia," etc. pp. 286.

Sir Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia," which appeared about twelve years ago, received an exceptionally wide reading and made a profound impression. His portrayal of Buddha led not a few to regard the author as more than merely tintured with Buddhism, but his "Light of the World" will remove any such impression. With the Saviour as the central figure, he is reverent throughout and reveals a devotion that bears every mark of sincerity.

After an introductory book entitled "At Bethlehem," there are six others: Book I., entitled "Mary Magdalene;" Book II., "The Magus;" Book III., "The Alabaster Box;" Book IV., (in two parts) "The Parables" and "At Tyre;" Book V., "The Love of God and Man;" Book VI., "The Great Consummation." The principal conversation is between Mary Magdalene (whom, with the license of a poet, he makes identical with Mary the sister of Lazarus and the woman who broke the alabaster box at the feet of Jesus) and one of the Magi "who had paid tribute to the infant Jesus and who has returned to hear, before he dies, the story of the Lord's life." He makes earnest inquiries of Mary, and at frequent stages of her story confesses the superiority of Christ over Buddha, and concludes that his character, teachings and works show him to be in truth the Son of God.

In a few places the poetry is somewhat artificial, but as a whole it is flowing and rhythmical. With the exception of the introductory book (which is not the best) it is blank verse. The work is illustrated with a portrait of Mr. Arnold, and fourteen full-page reproductions of Hoffman's celebrated pictures on the life of Christ. The poem was published simultaneously in America and England. The American edition has an excellent introduction by Richard Henry Stoddard.

*Lyrics.* Fjelda, The Great Bridge, In the Happy Summer Time, etc.  
By Joseph Hudson Young.

The Lyrics of this volume are very unequal. Some of them, as "The Augury," "A dead Love," "Can I Forget," "January," and others, reveal true poetic vision and power. Here and there are touches of real beauty and pathos. "Miss Clara St Clair and her Millionaire" shows ability in the humorous. But in a good many of the poems the author seems to have forgotten that mere obscurity and rhyming phrase do not make poetry.

M. V.

ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH AND CO., NEW YORK.

*Isaac and Jacob.* Their Lives and Times. By George Rawlinson.

Readers of Canon Rawlinson's books will readily judge the character of this. It is clearly written, interesting, instructive, orthodox. The lives of the patriarchs mentioned in its title can be learned only from the sacred Scriptures. The book of Genesis is almost the sole original authority. To this we may add only Galatians IV. and Hebrews XI. of the New Testament. But by the use, seldom if ever exceeding what has good warrant, of a vivid though chaste and disciplined imagination, the author has given us a sufficiently full, attractive and satisfactory narrative. Much light has been thrown on the subject from contemporaneous history, the manners and customs of the time and the writings of travelers in Palestine, ancient as well as modern. All the voluminous literature of the subject has been laid under tribute, and the author of the "Five Monarchies" and of the recent "Story of Egypt" is from his own investigations well fitted to give the history of the life in Egypt of Jacob and his sons in the days of Joseph. Most sacred historians at present seem to feel called upon to prove their learning by showing that all the world, except themselves and possibly some eminent teacher whose instruction it has been their peculiar privilege to enjoy, have been in error about the plainest things of Old Testament statement. Canon Rawlinson is without this ambition. He relates his history in a straightforward way; the first personal pronoun hardly figures at all upon his pages; and the reader finishes the book with a conviction that, if the presentation of facts has been somewhat old fashioned in form, it has had more of inherent probability, it carries more of the evidence of its truth on the face, than Bible narratives generally do in the



new way of treatment, in these days of the Higher Criticism, when the abandoned theologic has been replaced by scientific dogmatism.

J. K. D.

*Leah of Jerusalem.* A Story of the Time of Paul. By Edward Payson Berry.

This book is an imitation. The great popularity of Ben-Hur and of some of Ebers' novels has drawn not a few into the field of what some call *sacred fiction*. It is however a dangerous field to venture into. A novel touching on Biblical subjects or characters should be extremely good, or had better not come into the light at all. It takes an exceptionally fine judgment and taste to introduce St. Stephen and St. Paul in a narrative, make them visit the home of a young lady, who is something of a belle, without considerably shocking an ordinary sense of propriety. The book before us is not wanting in what may be instructive to young readers as regards ancient geography, especially of Cilicia and the country around Jerusalem. It relates, besides, some ancient history. But the information is such as can be had from any good Bible Dictionary, and, as in the novel it stands quite apart from the narrative, the form of it as found in the dictionary will not be less interesting.

The narrative itself is one of thrilling adventure—the capture of a beautiful young lady by brigands, the agonizing search for her by her lover, a fight for life in the arena with lions and gladiators, etc. But even a full-handed pouring in of spice may sometimes fail to make the pudding good.

J. K. D.

*How They Kept the Faith:* A Tale of the Huguenots of Languedoc. By Grace Raymond.

There was much in the situation and character of the Huguenots in the days of Louis XIV. to afford materials of romance. They were a people of intelligence, refinement and courage, brave, patriotic and devoted to religious principles. In these respects there were none superior to them in their time. The endeavor, in part successful, to crush such a people, could not but give rise to many incidents that command our admiration as much as our pity. It was the misfortune of the Reformation in France that it gathered its strongest following from the upper ranks of society. This, however, lends a charm to the historical picture. The story before us is worthy of its subject. It is interesting, instructive and elevating.

J. K. D.

*St. Paul: His Life and Times,* By James Ivarach, M. A., Professor of Apologetics and Exegesis of the Gospels, Free Church College, Aberdeen. pp. 216.

The size of this little volume is not the measure of its contents. Printed in small but very distinct type it offers in compact form a very complete history of the great Apostle, not only bringing out in vivid

narrative the details of his entire life, but disposing by turns of the numerous quibbles of historic criticism. As a calm, learned, reverent and sound exhibition of the extraordinary career which sustains to Christianity a relation only second to that of its divine Founder we know of nothing better. It is a book to be commended to all Christian readers.

E. J. W.

G. AND C. MERRIAM, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

*Webster's International Dictionary.* The authentic "Unabridged" of 1864, '79 and '84 thoroughly Revised and Enlarged.

Here we have the monumental results of ten years of careful and competent labor on a work that had already gained a pre-eminence over other dictionaries. It embodies the best scholarship of to-day in the line of lexicography, and no expense has been spared to make the work complete in all departments. A notice of it in the *Publisher's Weekly* so well describes it, that we transfer part of it to these pages with our endorsement:

Though retaining in general the features of the former issues, "Webster's International Dictionary" is essentially a new book. For ten years Prof. Noah Porter, of Yale College, in collaboration with a large corps of experts and scholars, has been busy in compiling and preparing the material for this book. A close comparison has been made with a whole library of the most recent authoritative works (aggregating two thousand authors) in philology and in all branches of knowledge that include new usages of speech. Upon technical subjects eminent specialists have been employed, and their contributions have been carefully harmonized in form with the general principles of the revision. Great care has been devoted to the pictorial illustrations; the number has been increased from three thousand to nearly four thousand, and about two-thirds of them are entirely new. There have been eliminations of many errors, large amplification and enriching by new material, and a judicious conservatism toward those excellent definitions of standard words which were Dr. Webster's especial merit. Some increase of the amount of matter in the book was inevitable; it is partly represented by the slightly enlarged page and the greater number of pages. But increase of size, the publishers assert, has not been sought, and the difference in bulk between the forthcoming volume and its predecessor hardly begins to measure the difference in value. A comparison of the two in any part, page by page, will reveal how frequent are the changes, and how great is the improvement, better than can be done by an article of so restricted scope as the present.

As a comprehensive popular dictionary we are confident that "Webster's International" is worthy to retain that pre-eminence which has so long been held by "Webster's Unabridged." It embodies the ripest results of modern philology, in the degree and form appropriate to a work of its class. It is neither a library nor an encyclopædia, but it is a

dictionary, designed to meet the every-day needs of all who write or speak the English tongue. It retains that excellence in definition which has made Webster's one of the popular and familiar authorities for reference. In etymology, pronunciation, citation, pictorial illustrations, it carries to greater perfection the merits of its predecessor. It adequately represents the vast and various advances in all the departments of thought and knowledge in recent years.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

*Outlines of Liturgics.* On the Basis of Harnack in Zöcklers's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*. Englished with additions from other sources, by Edward T. Horn, D. D., Author of "The Christian Year," "The Evangelical Pastor," etc. pp. 153.

A more timely work can scarcely be thought of. The question of Liturgics is a live and practical one not only in the Lutheran Church but in all the leading denominations. Inquiries for a copy of the Common Service with a view to examination for getting assistance in the preparation of congregational or denominational liturgies, come from Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational pastors, and the desire for some richer prescribed Order in public worship is in most cases accompanied by the confession of great ignorance on the subject.

The value of this contribution may be gathered from its Table of Contents: Definition of Liturgics; Nature and Essence of Christian Worship; Expression of Christian Worship; The Sacramental Acts in Christian Worship; The Sacrificial Acts in Christian Worship; History of the Development of the Christian Liturgy; Matins and Vespers; History and Literature of Liturgics. However brief the discussion of each topic respectively, a complete survey of the subject is furnished. While in no sense exhaustive the discussion is in every way trustworthy, Dr. Harnack being recognized as one of the foremost Liturgists in the Lutheran Church, and no one who is informed will dispute the attainments of Dr. Horn in this sphere. The work was not prepared in the interests of controversy nor is it seasoned with the biting acrimony of the controversial spirit. Persons disposed to enlarge their knowledge of this sacred theme will have in this respect quite a sense of relief as they study these pages. The original was written before the liturgical war through which we have just passed in the General Synod, and even where the editor offers additions no allusion to this strife is made. Of course facts are given with no apparent concern whether they upset or sustain recently proclaimed theories or hastily formed conclusions.

The difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches on the sacramental element of worship is brought out very strikingly and faithfully. Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio* says, "All sacraments are so far from

conferring grace, that they neither bring nor distribute it." "Consequently the Means of Grace are not vehicles of the Spirit, and the gifts of grace are not administered in the services. This view was modified by Calvin, and in Germany by Lutheran influences, but it was not corrected. Even Calvin hardly knew and did not appreciate the objective sacramental element. \* \* And as this Church does not know the full objective value of the Sacrament, she also takes from its subjective intensity."

Some who have found prescribed forms disagreeable to their self-satisfied piety, and who have jumped to the conclusion that spirituality and forms are necessarily inconsistent with each other, will of course refuse to believe what this manual as well as every Church History repeats, that as long as the Gospel held sway in the Church of the Fatherland, an elaborate liturgy was used by the congregation, but when Rationalism took possession of the pulpit it also "overturned and silenced the Worship of God, both form and contents, from top to bottom." It ought not to be necessary at this date for a man to be a Church Historian in order to answer the question, How does it happen if the Lutheran is a liturgical Church, that the liturgy had for a long time almost wholly disappeared? The simple and irrefutable answer is, when faith and life had gone out of the Church those forms which are the expression of the Church's best faith and life must needs be driven out too. It was not the spiritually-minded people that cast the Introits, the Kyrie and the Creed out of the Church Service.

We have referred to the exceptional timeliness of this little volume. As the matter is presented in popular style and in the form of question and answer, it seems to be level to the simplest understanding and as its price is only nominal, 50 cents, one may hope that it will gradually find its way into every Lutheran home. We predict that it will be a permanent manual in the Church.

Yet after all that has transpired in print and elsewhere for the past year, it may be that we ought to have a yet more elementary work, a liturgical primer. There is not only dense ignorance on this subject among many ministers, but this ignorance has been appealed to and made use of by some writers to head off a strong current in favor of our historic Service and to repress a loud-voiced desire for greater uniformity. In fact, some arguments used for these ends have derived their main strength from the ignorance of readers. When, furthermore, we hear that a minister of long experience wishing to use the full Service, read aloud all the rubrics as well as the texts of the Service, and that another one who has scholarship enough to have won the title of D. D., has asked for a published abridgment of the Common Service that he might use it in his congregation, as if he could not understand the plain rubrical directions on the first two pages beginning with the In-

troit, it really seems as if not a few pastors, even, have yet to learn the A, B, C of Liturgics.

E. J. W.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

*Gnadenjahr. Predigten über die Evangelien des Kirchenjahrs* von Dr. C. F. W. Walther. 8vo. pp. 590.

A writer in a denominational paper urging the work of proselyting among the German Lutherans of the West, speaks of the ignorance of their ministers and their people as one of the grounds justifying such work. The quantity and the quality of their publications sufficiently refute such a slander. Could the English Lutherans show a corresponding intellectual and publishing activity the effect upon the Church would in ever way be most propitious. Walther's *Evangelienpostille* have long been in the hands of many thousand readers, and now this great Lutheran House sends forth another collection of sermons on the Gospels of the Church Year taken from his MS. remains. Few of the great preachers of the Church could afford to send forth a second volume of sermons, expounding the very texts on which the sermons of the first volume were based, but Walther's disciples, who are familiar with every utterance from his lips, are confident that their mighty leader's reputation will not be hazarded by this cause. Walther had a profound insight into the Gospel and could readily prepare more than one sermon from the same text. Then, too, there is an inexhaustible richness in these Gospel Lessons, which is known, unhappily, only to those who make constant use of them.

The present collection is not made up of sermons preached Sunday after Sunday of the same Church Year, but selections are made from the whole official career of their sainted author, some dating from his earliest years as a pastor, some from his latest years. All are full of the marrow and the glory of the Gospel.

E. J. W.

LUTHERAN AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN, ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

*Practical Theology.* By Revere Franklin Weidner, Doctor and Professor of Theology, author of "Studies in the Book," "Commentary on Mark," "Christian Ethics," etc., etc. pp. 111.

This is the third and final volume of Dr. Weidner's "Theological Encyclopædia," a work whose merits have been cordially recognized on the appearance respectively of the two previous volumes. Theological students and ministers generally cannot well afford to be without a manual of this kind, and we know of nothing to be compared with it in English. Originality is not claimed in this volume anymore than for its predecessors, and the public is placed under great obligations to Prof. W. for giving us so much from Hagenbach and from the manuscript lectures of Dr. Krauth.

The subjects of Liturgics and Homiletics are treated with comparative

fullness, but Pastoral Theology is too meagre. The arrangement of a theological library is a valuable feature. So is also the selection of a Pastor's Library, a list that covers 325 volumes, costing net from \$600 to \$700. Both the introduction of some works in this list, and the omission of others, will occasion comment and surprise. We name Horne's Introduction and Lange's Commentary among the former, and The Book of Concord, Thomasius' Christologie and Frank's System der Christlichen Wahrheit, among the latter. E. J. W.

A. C. ARMSTRONG AND SONS, NEW YORK.

*The Living Christ and The Four Gospels.* By R. W. Dale, LL. D., Birmingham. pp. 299.

Dr. Dale has not claimed a place among the hyper-orthodox, but orthodoxy will be delighted with these apologetic lectures on the Living Christ and the Gospels. It is a most timely work, a noble vindication of the Christian faith that cannot be too highly commended. It combines ripe learning with critical skill and logical acumen, and exhibits sympathy with free thought and the difficulties with which earnest faith must struggle, united to a firm grasp of the truth of Christianity. The style is popular, the lectures having been delivered to the author's congregation, in which he says "there are never many Masters of Arts;" at the same time scholars will find here a stimulating discussion. It begins with the argument from experience, and shows that in the consciousness of redemption through the living Christ the believer rests on a foundation which remains unmoved by the storms of criticism. "He has wounds and reasons for his faith which lie beyond the reach of criticism concerning the authorship and authenticity of these wonderful narratives." Then follows the presentation of the historic trustworthiness of the Gospel story, whoever may have been the writers of it in the forms now extant. The remaining chapters present and analyze the views of the early fathers and heretics, whose cumulative testimony proves that before A. D. 150, the Gospels, Acts and nearly all the Epistles had become separated from all other Christian writings, silently and without controversy, "by the general consent of Christian Churches in every part of the world."

E. J. W.

*Christus Mediator* by Charles W. Elliott, D. D., Professor of Hebrew in Lafayette College. pp. 145.

This is a little work whose weight is gauged by its contents rather than by its bulk. It treats in brief outline the greatest of all themes, the person of our Lord in his threefold office of Prophet, Priest and King, with an excellent compendium of the controversies which this subject has awakened in all the Christian centuries. It is marked by reverence, faith, learning and simplicity; a book that will be enjoyed by the intelligent layman as well as by the professional theologian and the cultured minister. It touches upon nearly all the speculations that have arisen and takes con-

servative ground in regard to most of them, as for instance, on the question whether the Logos would have become incarnate had man not sinned? The author holds that we are not competent either to affirm or deny that the incarnation of the Mediator of the Universe was not necessary had man never fallen. There are mental and moral needs which even apart from sin seem to require this revelation of the Godhead. We are however, incapable of taking in the grand sweep of his work. E.J.W.

*The Book of Isaiah.* By the Rev. George Adams Smith, M. A., Minister of Queen's Cross Church, Aberdeen. In two volumes. Vol. II., Isaiah XL-LXVI. With a sketch of the History of Israel from Isaiah to the Exile. pp. 474.

*The Book of Ecclesiastes.* With a new translation. By Samuel Cox, D. D., Author of Commentaries on Job, Ruth, etc. pp. 335.

*The General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude.* By the Rev. Alfred Plummer, M. A., D. D., Master of University College, Durham. pp. 476.

These three volumes are valuable additions to the "Expositor's Bible" series, about twenty volumes of which have now been published by A. C. Armstrong & Son. The whole series is under the competent editorship of W. Robertson Nicoll, M. A., LL. D.

Rev. George Adam Smith, who has given the expositions of the second volume on Isaiah, also prepared those on the first. Accepting, as he does, the twenty-seven chapters in Vol. II. as a separate prophecy written a century and a half later than Isaiah himself, he properly treats them separately and pursues a somewhat different method of exposition from that followed in Vol. I., which embraced the first thirty-nine chapters. To this view and this method of treatment we are indebted for the capital sketch of Israel's history from the time of Isaiah to the Exile. This itself is worth the price of the whole volume.

In "*The Book of Ecclesiastes*" Dr. Cox has given a recast of a work written by him in 1867, entitled "The Quest of the Chief Good," which has been out of print for a score of years. He has made himself familiar with Hebrew poetry and here gives an appreciative and rhythmical translation. His interpretations will meet with general approval, and throw a clearer light on this familiar but little understood book of Scripture.

We are sorry that Dr. Plummer mars his otherwise excellent work by an unsustained fling at Luther in characterizing his exposition of St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith as a "caricature" (p. 23). He cannot believe this himself, or else contradicts himself on p. 147, when he speaks as follows: "St. Paul and St. James are thus found to be agreed. It remains to be shown that in spite of his own statements to the contrary, Luther was as fully agreed with the latter as with the former. When he writes about St. James, Luther's prejudice leads him



to disparage a form of teaching which he has not been at the pains to comprehend. But when he expounds St. Paul, he does so in words which would serve EXCELLENTLY as an exposition of the teaching of St. James." Thus we see that, while St. Paul and St. James are in full accord, Luther's "caricature" of St. Paul is an *excellent exposition* of St. James. Opprobrious epithets are cheap, but when Dr. Plummer uses them he should be careful to be consistent.

*The Miracles of our Saviour.* Expounded and Illustrated by William M. Taylor, D. D., LL. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle. pp. 449.

This is a suitable companion volume to the one on "The Parables of our Saviour," published four or five years ago. Having discussed the Nature, Possibility, Evidential Value, etc., of Miracles in another volume, the author here proceeds, after a short introduction, with the special miracles in their order. Each chapter was originally a sermon delivered to his congregation, and hence of a somewhat popular character. Thus the discussions do not seem as scholarly as those of Archbishop Trench, and yet nothing essential is omitted, whereas the pointed illustrations and applications make them better reading than Trench's excellent work. It is, indeed, these illustrations and applications which add life and interest, which the average sermon on a miracle does not have. Dr. Taylor seems always to remember that he has human souls before him, whose hungerings he must try to meet, or whose indifference he must stimulate to faith and activity, and hence he is not satisfied with merely the expository, but gives lessons here, there and everywhere, sometimes almost to the verge of digression. We like this work, and take pleasure in commending it

*The Sermon Bible.* St. Matthew xxii to St. Mark xvi.

It is well that this series is going at a more deliberate pace through the New Testament that it did through the Old. Two volumes have thus far been devoted to Matthew and Mark, whereas four volumes covered the whole of the Old Testament. The best homiletical literature is consulted and the excerpts are judiciously made. We commend again, as we have done before, the references to homiletical works, most of which can be consulted by those having access to large libraries. If used with judgment, this series will give legitimate help. We can see, however, how it can weaken self-reliance and lead to unscholarly and lazy habits.

#### MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

*The Guiding Hand:* or Providential Direction illustrated by Authentic Instances. Recorded and collected by H. L. Hastings, Editor of *The Christian*. Boston: Scriptural Tract Repository, 47 Cornhill. pp. 382. A collection of incidents showing God's providential care

and dealings—many of them striking and very impressive. This book has been before the public for some years.

*The 19th Century Young Man.* A Series of Lectures, by the Rev. William H. Myers, Pastor of Grace Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa. Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, No. 117 North Sixth Street. pp. 164. This tastefully printed little book has twelve lectures specially adapted to young men. The style is spirited and entertaining, and the lessons inculcated most excellent.

*Elijah the Man of God.* By Mark Guy Pearse. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. pp. 120. An excellent little volume on the "prophet of fire." It is divided into ten chapters, every one of which is aglow with interest.

*Our First Mission.* By Rev. J. W. Kimmel. Published for the Author. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 42 North Ninth St. pp. 94. The story of a home missionary's experiences in establishing a Lutheran church in Tekamah, Nebraska. It is told in a straightforward way, without the polish of rhetoric, but none the less interesting on that account nor the less stimulating to interest in missions. Copies in paper cover are sold at 15 cents each—in boards at 30 cents.

*How did the Universe originate and when did the World become a Habitable Earth?* The True Answer in the light of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. This is a book of 104 pages, in paper cover, by Rev. G. C. H. Hasskarl, Ph. D. It was read before the National Academy of Theology at its session in New York last summer. It is full of evidence of wide reading and originality of thought. The author is exceptionally familiar with the original languages of Scripture and the conclusions of science, many of which he antagonizes. The book is on sale at the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, or can be had by addressing the author at Beaver Springs, Snyder county, Pa.

*The Devotional Choir:* A collection of Anthems, etc., for Choir Use in Sacred Worship by Rev. M. L. Remsberg, Beatrice, Neb. Published by the author. For sale by Music Dealers and Booksellers. pp. 64. Paper cover, 60 cents a copy or \$6.00 a dozen. Rev. Mr. Remsberg is widely known in the Lutheran Church for his skill in composing music as well as for his appreciation of what is good and suitable for religious worship. Most of what is given in this collection is his own composition, and, we believe, need only be tried to find acceptance.

*Studies in Old Testament History.* By Rev. Jesse L. Hurlbut, D. D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. pp. 98. Paper cover. Exceedingly helpful to Bible students.

## WANTED--BACK NUMBERS.

The Editor of the "Quarterly" will give \$1.00 per copy for all he can get of Jan. 1871, of this Review, and 75 cents each for a limited number of Jan. 1890.

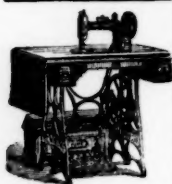
Address

P. M. BIKLE,

Gettysburg, Pa.

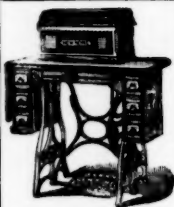


NEVER OUT OF ORDER.



The  
Handsomest  
Woodwork.

The  
Latest & Best  
Attachments.



EXAMINE THE NEW HOME.

The NEW HOME SEWING MACHINE CO., Orange, Mass.  
28 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. BOSTON, MASS.  
CHICAGO, ILL. ST. LOUIS, MO. ATLANTA, GA.  
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. DALLAS, TEX.

## A NEW BOOK FROM COVER TO COVER

A Grand Investment for every Family and School.

The Authentic Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, comprising issues of 1864, '79 and '84, (still copyrighted) is now thoroughly REVISED and ENLARGED, under the supervision of Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D., of Yale University, and as a distinguishing title, bears the name of WEBSTER'S INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY.

GET THE BEST.

Sold by all Booksellers. Illustrated descriptive Pamphlet mailed free. Published by G. & C. MERRIAM & CO., Springfield, Mass., U. S. A.

GET THE LATEST.



Editorial work upon this revision has been in progress for over TEN YEARS. Not less than One Hundred paid editors and proofreaders have been employed upon it. Over \$300,000 expended in its preparation before the first copy was printed. Critical comparison with any other Dictionary is invited.